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Annals of the disruption

Rev^d D^r S. L. Patton
with David Dickson's
warm regards.

Edinburgh,
July, 1877.

# ANNALS OF THE DISRUPTION.

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JAN 18 1935

# ANNALS

OF

# THE DISRUPTION:

CONSISTING CHIEFLY OF EXTRACTS FROM THE

## AUTOGRAPH NARRATIVES

OF

MINISTERS WHO LEFT THE SCOTTISH ESTABLISHMENT

IN

## 1843.

SELECTED AND ARRANGED BY THE

REV. THOMAS BROWN, F.R.S.E.,

CONVENER OF COMMITTEE.

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*Published by Authority of the Committee of the Free Church on the Records of Disruption Ministers.*

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PART I.

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*SIXTH THOUSAND.*

EDINBURGH:

MACLAREN & MACNIVEN, PRINCES STREET.

1877.

# PREFACE.

THE object of the following pages is to recall the circumstances of the Disruption, as described by the men who themselves took part in the struggle. The general and more public aspects of the event have been admirably brought out by Dr. Buchanan in the History of the Ten Years' Conflict, and by Dr. Hanna in his Memoirs of Dr. Chalmers. But there are other important objects which may be served by giving in greater detail the experience of individual ministers in their separate parishes. Fortunately, we have, from various districts of the country, narratives written immediately after the event, and portions of these may now be made available, to tell in their own words what it was that led the men of the Disruption to separate from the State, and what difficulties were encountered by the Church in taking up her new position.

Two years after the Disruption, when the General Assembly met at Inverness, in 1845, Dr. Lorimer, of Glasgow, proposed that the outgoing ministers should prepare Memorials recording the facts of their personal experience. A Committee was appointed, with Dr. Lorimer as Convener, and in answer to their appeal, thirty-seven narratives were sent in—those which in the following pages are referred to as Dis. Mss. i.–xxxvii.

In 1864 the subject was resumed, and zealously prosecuted, in a different form, by Dr. Parker, of Lesmahagow, then of Glasgow. The Papers collected or prepared by him will be

quoted as the Parker Mss., under the names of the different ministers and Presbyteries from whom he obtained returns.

Since 1873, when the present Convener was appointed, additional Memorials have been received, and these will be referred to as Dis. Mss. xxxviii.–lii.

In preparing a general statement derived chiefly from these sources, one great difficulty has been to avoid the sameness of so many narratives detailing similar occurrences in different localities. This has made it necessary to omit much which would otherwise have been well deserving of notice; but if there be any of the outgoing ministers who may feel that the part which they took in the sacrifices of 1843 has been overlooked, the Convener can, at least, say that in no case has this been done more completely than in his own. A wider range may be taken, if thought advisable, at some future time.

A brief Narrative is given for the purpose of connecting the different extracts, and reminding the reader of how the great change was brought about. It will serve, at least, to show in what light the passing ecclesiastical events of the day were viewed in a country manse by one who entered on the duties of his parish in the midst of the Ten Years' Conflict. At all the great turning-points of the struggle it seemed—and the subsequent experience of more than thirty years has only deepened the conviction—that the Church did what she simply could not help doing if she were to remain faithful to Christ her Head, and to the people under her care.

The only liberty taken with the extracts is in condensing them by omitting some of the less important portions as indicated, the true meaning and object of the writers being in every case carefully preserved.

More than once the General Assembly has expressed a desire for the publication of some portions of those Disruption Memorials and Records, and taken steps with that view. The

delay that has occurred has been due to the lamented death of Dr. Parker and to other circumstances, which the Committee have had much cause to regret—one Convener has been laid aside by ill health, and another has been called to the colonial field.

The First Part, now published, brings down the narrative of events to the point where ministers found themselves outside the Establishment, and involved in the difficulties incident to the great change. In a Second Part it is proposed to give some account of the efforts made to meet those difficulties as to sites and other matters, while the Church was being reorganised in her new position. It will include also complete lists of the outgoing ministers, with brief historical notices, so far as possible, of all those who have been removed by death.

It is with no desire to provoke controversy that the following statements have been prepared, but rather in the full belief that if the facts, as they actually took place, were better known, the hostility of adversaries would be to a great extent disarmed, and the attachment of friends confirmed and strengthened. It is true that when men are describing sacrifices and sufferings —their own or others'—there is difficulty in avoiding a certain amount of feeling. It is not every one who can dismiss such matters as one of the sufferers does, in speaking of trials overcome: "The facts which might be mentioned are of so very delicate a character that they cannot be stated, and must be left to the disclosures of that day when the secrets of all hearts shall be revealed." If, however, we are to have a truthful view of Disruption times, such circumstances cannot be wholly suppressed; and, surely, they may now be spoken of all the more calmly and frankly, when the keen feelings of former days have, to so great an extent, passed away.

Amidst all the elements of human imperfection which mingled in the great movement of 1843, it is impossible not

to recognise the signal tokens of God's goodness to His servants in a day of trial, interposing to uphold and guide them for His own glory in the path of duty. And now that it has been given to the Free Church to gather into her communion so much of what constitutes the strength of Scotland—the intelligence, the faith, and energy of her people—the younger generation, who have risen into the place of their Disruption Fathers, may well take encouragement to hold fast the noble heritage of Christian truth and sacred principle for which their Church has once more, as in the days of old, been honoured to contend.

The subjoined minute states the authority under which this publication appears.

THOMAS BROWN,
*Convener of Committee.*

16 Carlton Street, Edinburgh,
17*th May*, 1876.

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Extract Minute of the Committee of the General Assembly of the Free Church on the Records of Disruption Ministers, 17th May, 1876.

The Committee agreed to authorise the publication of the "Annals of the Disruption," prepared by the Convener, and cordially to recommend the same to the members of the Church. In doing so, they think it right to state, that, all the materials in their possession having been placed at the disposal of the Convener, he holds himself alone responsible for the selection and arrangement of the various extracts, as well as for the narrative that is given and the expressions of opinion which that narrative contains.

The Committee would earnestly invite additional statements and records from all who can supply authentic information as to Disruption times.

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# ANNALS OF THE DISRUPTION.

## I. Free Church Principles an Inheritance from Former Times.

The Disruption and its results will be best understood if we begin by inquiring how it came that so many of the ministers and people were prepared to meet the crisis of 1843, and to act the part which they did. In not a few cases they tell us that little was needed in the way of special preparation. Dr. Foote, of Aberdeen, in speaking of his own experience, mentions, what was equally true of many of his brethren: "In my early years I held those views which belong to evangelical, orthodox, thorough-paced Presbyterianism. . . . I take no credit for standing to what I ever felt to be the essential principles of the Church of Scotland; but I bless God that, after co-operating with others, . . . to prevent the necessity of breaking our connection with the State, I felt no desire, and no temptation, not to act with decision when that necessity became plain."* These views would seem in some cases to have come down by hereditary descent from those who had fought the same battle in former times. Dr. Patrick M'Farlan, of Greenock, whose name stands first at the Deed of Demission, belonged to a family who for four generations in succession held office in the Church of Scotland, his great-grandfather having been ordained shortly after the Revolution. Dr. Welsh, who headed the procession on the day of the Disruption, was descended from forefathers who, amidst the upper moorlands round the sources of the Tweed, had suffered for the cause of Christ in the days of persecution. Mr. Carment, of Rosskeen, was the grandson of John Carment, born in 1672,

* Dis. Mss. xxiv. p. 2.

and baptised under cloud of night among the hills of Irongray by the well-known John Welsh. These men—and there were others of similar ancestry—were obviously in the right place when, amidst the struggles of 1843, they proved their hereditary attachment to the cause of Christ's Crown and Covenant.

Apart, however, from all connection in the way of lineal descent, these historical associations exercised a powerful influence among the people of Scotland. Mr. Taylor, of Flisk, thus refers to the effect of such memories on his own mind: "I owe much to the early and frequent reading of the 'Scots Worthies,' from which I saw that the principles of the Free Church are those for which the Church of Scotland has always contended in her best times. These principles are truly Scottish, as well as truly scriptural. They have been baptised by the sufferings and blood of our fathers, and this has doubly endeared them to me. As I benefited so much by the reading of that book, I have generally recommended it, . . . as one of the best books to throw light on our principles and position."* The results of such reading, accordingly, were met with, not only among the ministers, but in many districts among the people also. At Monkton, in Ayrshire, it is stated that "much of the spirit of the old Covenanters" remained. "There are few dwellings in which there is not a small library, and in these libraries there is generally a well-thumbed copy of the 'Scots Worthies,' the 'Cloud of Witnesses,' or 'Foxe's Book of Martyrs,' in which they find that the principles for which the Church is contending are principles in maintenance of which their fathers shed their blood."†

Thus, over wide districts of Scotland there were very many even of the humblest classes to whom the names and principles connected with covenanting times had long been familiar. Weavers at the loom, artisans in the workshop, ploughmen in the fields, and shepherds out among the hills, cherished those memories and felt their power, and all through the conflict, we find allusions to those times meeting us at every step.

Sometimes there were local associations which gave special force to the appeal. At Lesmahagow, the people lived in a district round which lay Bothwell Bridge, and Airsmoss, and

* Dis. Mss. xxxvii. pp. 1, 2. † Dis. Mss. xxxiv. p. 2.

Drumclog, and the spot where John Brown, of Priesthill, was shot by Claverhouse. A single example may be given of those mentioned by Dr. Parker to illustrate the ties which connect the present with that former generation. "James Dykes, of Leadshead, is the senior member of my session. Though now [1846] at the advanced age of eighty-seven, he is regular in his attendance at church from Sabbath to Sabbath, not excepting wet and stormy days. He is the great-grandson of John Steel, of Waterhead, who occupied so conspicuous a place in the troublous times of the Second Charles. He was by far the most distinguished man in this district of country ['looked up to as leader and counsellor of the Covenanters in the West']. He was driven from his house and lands by the force of persecution, and wandered as an outlaw for many a weary day. He was present with a brother at Airsmoss, and narrowly escaped with his life. Towards the close of the battle, a trooper rode up to Steel and his brother, who were making their way from the field on foot. They were both exceedingly nimble, but the horseman soon came up to them, and addressing the laird of Waterhead, cried, 'Stand, dog, and die.' The laird turning dexterously round on his pursuer, with a heavy back-stroke brought him to the ground. He then set his brother on the trooper's horse, and he himself ran on foot. . . . His daughter, Isabella, the grandmother of my elder, was one of the first children baptised in Lesmahagow Parish Church after the Revolution. . . . She was married to William Dykes, in St. Bride's Chapel, Parish of Avondale; and after she became a widow, she resided with her son, the father of my elder. He remembers her well. He was sixteen years old when she died, and many a winter night he has sat by her side listening to the tales she told of the times of persecution, and of the eventful scenes through which her father passed. . . . It is interesting to remark that he is separated by so small an interval—as it were a single life—from the period in which men were doomed to imprisonment and death, for no other cause than choosing to worship God according to the dictates of conscience."* In a parish where such hereditary connections prevailed, it was no

* Dis. Mss. xxxi. p. 28.

accidental coincidence that, when the day of trial came in 1843, Dr. Parker, on abandoning the Establishment, was accompanied by five of his seven elders, and by a strong body of 800 communicants, comprising in their number fifty of the farmers who belonged to the district.

At Edinburgh also such local associations with those old times were not unfrequently referred to. Thus, at one of the meetings, an office-bearer appealed to the people: "Lawsuits, fines, and actions of damages have now superseded the gibbet and the stake. But the spirit of persecution is as truly at work as ever it was in the days of King Charles. . . . What cowardly dastards we must be, if we lose without a struggle what cost our forefathers so much to gain. Imprisonment, fines, death, tortures had no terrors for them. . . . Yonder lies the Greyfriars' Churchyard, where our fathers solemnly subscribed the Covenant—some of them with their very blood; and there, sir, lies the Grassmarket, where the fires of persecution were often lighted. . . . Who is there who can stand where we now stand . . . without feeling the glow of enthusiastic zeal thrilling through his every nerve and fibre? Let us, then, with one heart and mind, declare our unalterable adherence to the principles for which our fathers bled and died, and for which our Church is now contending. Let us declare that, come what may, we will abide by these, and stand by the ministers who are ready to maintain them to the uttermost. But, sir, let us not attempt to do this in our own strength; . . . let us resolve to do it in the strength of God." *

Sometimes there were cases in which the *personal* element was specially prominent, as in a speech by Mr. Carment, of Rosskeen, already referred to. After alluding to the hardships of the Church, he went on to say: "Bad as matters are, we should remember it is no new thing that has befallen us. . . . My son is the outed minister of Comrie. On coming South I went to see him, for there was some work waiting for me. He had got an infant son, and the boy had been left unbaptised till the old man, his grandfather, should come and baptise him. At Comrie, just as in the Highlands, the congregation had to

* *Witness*, 4th January, 1843.

meet on the bare hillside ; and when the child was brought up to me to be baptised, it did forcibly strike me, as well it might, that the circumstances in which we were placed were not new. And so I said to the people before I began : 'Here am I . . . going to baptise my grandson in the open air on the bare hillside—I, whose grandfather was baptised in the open air on the bare hillside, in the times of the last great persecution.' . . . My father has told me that in carrying out the infant under the cloud of night they had to pass the curate's house, and they were greatly alarmed lest it should cry in the passing, and bring out the curate on them. But it kept quiet, and they regarded the thing as a special Providence." *

Frequent allusions such as these meet us all through the conflict, not only influencing men's views, but moulding the very terms and modes of expression in which the great principles were set before the country. "I have often thought of late," Dr. Candlish said on the eve of the Disruption, "since we have been compelled to make ourselves familiar with the stories of the martyrs, . . . that in the course of these painful controversies we have not yet got a suitable watchword . . . a banner worthy of the days of old, worthy of the Covenant. *Non-intrusion* is a good enough word, but it would look ill upon some lonely gravestone in the wilds of Ayr. *Spiritual independence* is a good enough phrase, but it would scarcely bear to be emblazoned on our banner in the day of battle, when the stormy winds shall blow. It is not non-intrusion or spiritual independence that will do now, but the old time-worn and hallowed watchword of our fathers—'*The Crown-rights of the Redeemer.*' . . . We shall maintain these Crown-rights, perhaps in a state of exile from the Establishment, perhaps in a state of suffering—of toil and privation. It is possible that even out of the Establishment, the claims which have been put forth against us by Cæsar and his Courts may follow us, for indications and hints were given in Parliament of principles which, if carried out, would deny freedom, not only to the Church Established, but to the Church of Christ. Be that as it may, oh, let us be resolved and determined that we shall main-

* *Witness* Newspaper, 4th November, 1843.

tain the rights of Christ the King, whether in or out of the Establishment—under persecution if need be." *

Thus, as the controversy went on it connected itself with the struggles of former times, but not often was that connection more fittingly expressed than in the words of M'Cheyne : " In generations past this cause has been maintained in Scotland at all hands and against all enemies, and if God calls us to put our feet in the blood-stained footsteps of the Scottish Worthies, I dare not boast, but I will pray that the calm faith of Hugh Mackail, and the cheerful courage of Donald Cargill, may be given me." †

* *Witness*, 25th March, 1843. The reader will observe there was no expectation that by going out at the Disruption the Free Church would, *ipso facto*, be free from the encroachments of the Civil Courts. Irrespective of all consequences, however, we shall see how the Church, for the relief of her own conscience, had to abandon her position in the Establishment, in order that she might remain faithful to Christ. Whatever came of it, she would at least not be compromised by retaining her emoluments under such conditions as came to be attached to them.

† Memoir, p. 560.

## II. Religious Revival a Preparation for the Conflict.

But there was another cause which prepared men for the change, and which was much more generally and powerfully felt —the revived spirit of vital religion then pervading the country. This is frankly spoken of by some of the ministers as having been experienced by themselves. Of all such examples the most conspicuous is that of Dr. Chalmers, as given in his biography. In the Disruption Mss. there are similar instances more briefly referred to.

"I had been led," says Mr. Innes, of Deskford, "by the blessing of God to a more evangelical style of preaching and to greater seriousness than at the earlier period of my ministry." *

Mr. Jeffrey, of Girthon, stated, a few days before his death, "that from the first he had preached the Gospel to the light he had received, but that a great change had taken place fifteen years before, when his views of religion became much more earnest and deeply evangelical."†

Such, also, was the experience of Dr. Landsborough, of Stevenston, who, as appears from a letter of his friend, Professor Thomas Brown, had been brought forward in 1811 by Dr. Inglis and the "desperately moderate men." Looking back to that period he states in his Diary for 1842, "How great was then my darkness, how unfit my spirit for the solemn work on which I was about to be engaged." And again, under another date, "My birthday. What changes in the world since my life began. How many changes in my own life. Thou hast borne with me. . . . Thou hast enlightened me. I have reason to hope that I am renewed, and on the way to heaven."‡ It seems to have

* Dis. Mss. xv. p. 1. † Parker Mss., Pres. of Kirkcudbright.
‡ Memoir, p. 163.

been at a comparatively early period in his ministry that the change had taken place, and we find him in the midst of the revival-work of 1840, labouring in his parish, and rejoicing with all his heart.

Throughout the manses of Scotland, it is believed that such cases were not rare. But few were so remarkable as that of Mr. Roderick M'Leod, whose name is identified with the revival of religion in Skye. "During the first three years of my ministry," he says, "I was an entire stranger to the Gospel scheme of salvation; and no wonder, for the staple theology of Skye preaching in those days was nothing better than scraps of Blair's Sermons or of some other equally meagre stuff, so that I have often thought that I scarcely ever heard the Gospel till I began to preach it myself, with the exception of going two or three times to the Gaelic Chapel in Aberdeen." He refers to one evangelical minister in Skye, Mr. Shaw, of Bracadale, from whom he borrowed a treatise of Bellamy's, which threw him into a state of alarm for his own salvation. It was a sermon by Dr. Chalmers which opened his eyes to the Gospel. After this he preached two years at the station of Arnizort, and then, on the death of Mr. Shaw, was translated to Bracadale. His change of views and principles brought a corresponding change in dealing with his parishioners, more especially on the subject of baptism, and there followed a series of collisions with the Moderate Presbytery, who would fain have deposed him, and cast him out of the Church. The Disruption is accordingly spoken of as having brought him "unmingled relief, and a happy termination to a twice ten years' conflict." *

It was among the people, however, that this awakening was most general, and its effects most clearly seen in preparing men for the Disruption. The concurrence of testimony on this point is very striking. Thus at Kilsyth, well known as the scene of a remarkable revival under the Rev. Mr. Robe in 1742, there occurred a similar time of blessing in 1839, when "from July to October the whole community flocked to hear the Word with the deepest earnestness." This movement, which attracted at the time the attention of all Scotland, is described by Dr. Burns

* Parker Mss., Pres. of Skye.

as "a sun blink of Gospel light and warmth;" and, he adds, "the fact is unquestionable, that the greater number of those who have been seriously impressed, at the time referred to, have attached themselves to the Free Church."* It was an interesting coincidence, that a prayer meeting which dates from the time of Mr. Robe, and which for fifty years had been held in an upper room, gave accommodation to the first meetings for organising the Free Church movements in the parish.

In Strathbogie similar preparatory work is described. Mr. Cowie, a dissenting minister in Huntly, "a man of eminent piety, vigorous mind, . . and remarkable zeal in his Master's work," is said to have produced a powerful effect on the district, and to have left many seals of his ministry. "Another of these Strathbogie parishes is Botriphnie, where, about eighty years ago, there was a godly parish minister, Mr. Campbell, to whose ministry the people were wont to travel for many miles." One of the fruits of his ministry was Mr. Cowie just referred to. "It is said that a godly farmer, who had been converted under the ministry of Mr. Campbell, mourning over the almost universal deadness both of ministers and people, was wont to spend much of the night in prayer in his barn for times of awakening and revival, and that long after this godly man was gathered to his fathers, this very barn was it in which, for five and a-half years, the Free Church congregation found a shelter for the worship of God, and in which many precious sermons were preached, and not a few souls were converted."†

A revival of religion is recorded to have taken place in Lawers and Lochtayside in 1815. Again a similar work appeared in 1834, and subsequent years, in connection with the ministry of Mr. Campbell, of Lawers, and his younger brother in Glenlyon, assisted by the Rev. William Burns. Often would Mr. Campbell, of Lawers, afterward of Kiltearn, "when in company with Christian friends, revert to these great days of the Son of man." His younger brother, Mr. Campbell, of Glenlyon, afterwards of Tarbat, writing under date October, 1864, mentions:—"I witnessed three religious revivals—one in Breadalbane and Glenlyon, in the year 1816;

* Dis. Mss. xxix. pp. 2, 3.

† Dis. Mss. x. pp. 1, 2, 5.

one in Tarbat and other parishes in Ross-shire, in the years 1840 and 1841; a third in Lawers in the year 1861. Let sovereign grace have all the glory." Both brothers took a decided part in the "Ten Years' Conflict," and were of signal service to the Free Church in 1843, and afterwards.

In Ross-shire, Mr. Flyter, of Alness, gives his view of how men were made ready for the Disruption:—"Preparation was made in regard to elders and people in the influences with which the Lord accompanied the preaching of the Gospel. This influence was striking and impressive in various parts of the country in 1840. About that time in every district of the parish of Alness there were some sin-sick souls." *

Dr. Mackintosh, of Tain, bears his decided testimony to the reality of this movement. "What I believe to be a genuine revival of religion—the work of the Spirit of God—has taken place during the past year [1840] to a considerable extent in this parish and district. . . . There was at first a good deal of outward excitement on some occasions under the Word, but this gradually diminished. . . . The experience which I had of the revival of religion, though limited and partial, is such as would lead me to long for its continuance and to pant for its return, as bringing with it the blessed results for which a minister of Christ would desire to live and die—the conversion of sinners and the increasing consolation and edification of saints." †

At Collace, Dr. A. Bonar speaks of the parish having been "prepared by a work of Divine grace in the souls of many among us. After my return from the mission to the Jews in Palestine and other countries a decided awakening took place. In the month of May, 1840, there was a deep impression on many, attended with outward expressions of concern upon one occasion when we were met during the week for prayer, but in general the work was silent. After that date one and another at different intervals seemed brought under the power of the truth. On the fast day appointed by our Assembly—in prospect of the solemn crisis of the Disruption—two persons

* Parish of Alness, by the Rev. A. Flyter, Parker Mss.

† Memorials of Rev. C. Mackintosh, D.D., p. 53.

were led to the cross. In all these cases, without one exception, the individuals became most decided in their views regarding the Headship and Crown-rights of the Redeemer; and neither in this nor any of the neighbouring parishes did any of these awakened persons remain in the Establishment when the crisis came." *

Mr. Carment, of Rosskeen (Ross-shire), writes, under date January, 1841 :—"Though the prospects of the beloved Church of my fathers are becoming every day more dark and gloomy, . . . yet the prospects of this parish are becoming increasingly bright and pleasing. There has been since 1840 a very remarkable awakening and religious revival in this parish and neighbourhood, especially among the young; and numbers, I have reason to believe, have been savingly converted. . . . I have been enabled to preach frequently on week days to attentive, impressed, and weeping congregations, who flock by night and by day to hear the Word." At the previous communion he had admitted more communicants than during the whole of the preceding eighteen years of his ministry. "It seems to me *a token for good that our present contendings as a Church are approved by God,* when revivals of religion are taking place in various parts of Scotland at a time when the Court of Session is, like the Scottish Council of old, trying not only to intrude unacceptable ministers into parishes by an illegal assumption of power not sanctioned by the constitution of the country, but in direct violation of all those Statutes which were passed to secure the Church against all such attempts." †

One additional example may be given, on the testimony of Mr. M'Cheyne, as to the work in Dundee :—"It is my decided and solemn conviction, in the sight of God, that a very remarkable and glorious work of God, in the conversion of sinners and edifying of saints, has taken place in this parish and neighbourhood. This work I have observed going on from the very beginning of my ministry in this place in November, 1836, and it has continued to the present time. But it was much more remarkable in the autumn of 1839, when I was abroad on a mission

* Dis. Mss. xxi. pp. 1, 2.
† Parish of Rosskeen, Rev. J. Carment, Parker Mss.

of inquiry to the Jews, and when my place was occupied by the Rev. W. C. Burns. . . . Immediately after the beginning of the Lord's work at Kilsyth, the Word of God came with such power to the hearts and consciences of the people here, and their thirst for hearing it became so intense, that the evening-classes in the schoolroom were changed into densely-crowded congregations in the church; and for nearly four months it was found desirable to have public worship almost every night. At this time, also, many prayer meetings were formed, some of which were strictly private or fellowship meetings; and others, conducted by persons of some Christian experience, were open to persons under concern about their souls. . . . Many hundreds under deep concern for their souls have come from first to last to converse with the ministers, so that I am deeply persuaded the number of those who have received saving benefit is greater than any one will know till the judgment day." *

Nor was it only at Dundee that such effects were produced; a blessing was seen to go with Mr. M'Cheyne's labours in other districts. At Wanlockhead, Mr. Hastings speaks of a change having taken place in his congregation "since the sacrament in July, 1841, when the late Rev. Mr. Murray M'Cheyne assisted me. Many, indeed, were melted under his preaching, and became obviously more serious in their demeanour, and the chapel afterwards more regularly crowded." . . . "The people here understood well the principles of the Free Church." †

In the district of Buchan, Aberdeenshire, "the various parishes were blessed with the preaching of the saintly M'Cheyne in the early part of 1843, and in Ellon, as elsewhere, he left precious fruits of his ministry. Accordingly, though a year before the Disruption there were not known to be half-a-dozen Non-intrusionists in the whole parish of Ellon, when the event came, a congregation of above a hundred, with more than eighty communicants, was at once formed in this stronghold of Moderatism; and since that time the congregation has greatly increased [1846]." ‡

It was a striking circumstance that the whole circle of friends

* Memoir, pp. 495, 496. † Dis. Mss. xix. ‡ Dis. Mss. ix. p. 4.

with whom Mr. M'Cheyne was specially associated were of one mind through the whole time of the great conflict. There was much to be done for Christ in Scotland, and God had raised up a remarkable band of labourers in the zeal of their first love, and in the strength of early manhood. What Dr. Horatius Bonar says of one of their number—Mr. Milne, of Perth—was equally true of them all:—"In the movements of the 'Ten Years' Conflict' he took no lukewarm part, though by no means an Ecclesiastic in the common sense of the word; he was a thorough Presbyterian—a vigorous maintainer of Reformation doctrine and Reformation discipline. Those who counted upon his laxity in regard to Church principles, and who were persuaded that a man so spiritual and so silent in Church Courts would take no part in the struggles of these years, were surprised at the resolute decision which he showed in adopting, and the energy in maintaining, the great ecclesiastical principles then battled for. . . . The ecclesiastical turmoil seemed to elevate, not to depress—to spiritualise, not to secularise. All the brethren whom he loved, and in whose fellowship he delighted, were of one mind on the questions which were dividing the Church Courts. Hence they could meet together, confer together, pray together. All were of one heart and of one soul. . . . The Church questions agitated were not those of partisanship or routine, they were vital and spiritual, both in themselves and in their bearings. They centred in Christ Himself—Christ, the Lawgiver of the Church—Christ, the Lawgiver of the realm. Hence, in handling them, Christian men were dealing with the Master and the Master's honour. The questions were summed up in two: 'Shall Christ give laws to the Church, or shall the Church give laws to herself? Shall Christ give laws to the nations, or shall the nations give laws to themselves?' Christian men had not to come down to secularities and externalisms in maintaining these. They felt they were discussing matters which touched their spiritual interests on every side, and they were contending for truths which brought their souls in contact with the Lord Himself." *

The testimony of such men was of incalculable value—drawing

* Life of Rev. J. Milne, by Dr. Horatius Bonar, pp. 74-76.

the hearts and prayers of God's people, and constraining some even of the adversaries to treat the cause with unwilling respect.

These extracts and incidents have been selected as referring to different localities, in order to show how widespread was the movement which then pervaded Scotland, and how deeply the questions at issue were felt to be connected with the most sacred feelings of the people. As the struggle went on, it became obvious to very many men of the truest spiritual discernment that it was the cause of Christ itself in the land which was at stake; and wherever men's minds were most earnest—wherever religious life was most active, there the conviction was deepest. In that lay the secret of the whole movement which took so many by surprise. If something of the fervour of old covenanting times again broke forth, it was because the same principles were believed to be at issue. Once more the same cause had taken hold of the heart and conscience of Scotland, and that with a force in many cases so overpowering as to set all obstacles at defiance. This, as we shall see, was the reason why the movement became one which the people to so large an extent took into their own hands, and carried out independently of the ministers.

But while the revival of religious life prepared men for the sacrifice, it yet made the Disruption more painful, in so far as it broke up many of those parochial and home mission operations into which they had thrown themselves. There are many published biographies which are full of the details of such work, but one or two examples taken from the Disruption Mss. may serve further to illustrate what was going on.

In 1820 the Rev. George Davidson was ordained at Latheron, Caithness, and found himself the minister of a parish covering 350 square miles, with 8000 of a population. For several years he was in the habit of preaching four sermons and travelling twenty miles every Sabbath. The labour, he quietly remarks, "was perhaps greater than could long have been borne;" and he was much concerned as to how adequate provision could be made for the parish. A plan of church extension was devised, and vigorously carried out, in no small measure on his own pecuniary responsibility. Sir John Sinclair, he mentions, in a

most liberal way gave his assistance, and, he adds, "I received great encouragement, and afterwards aid, from the eminent Dr. Chalmers. . . . I sent him the sketch of a plan by which I proposed to divide this large parish, extending nearly thirty miles along the sea coast, into manageable districts, five in number." How this object was attained he records, and the result was that "the year 1843 found the parish possessed of five distinct and regularly organised congregations, having each its own minister, elders, teachers, and communicants."

There is a touch of sadness when he comes to speak of the way in which this work was cut short. In 1842 he was busy with the last of these churches—that of Dunbeath—when "a serious obstacle presented itself; for the Church question, which was for several years depending before the Civil Courts, had just assumed a rather alarming aspect, and warned us to cease from building." For long this devoted man had toiled to make full provision for the religious wants of his parish. The last stone was about to be laid on the structure, and he went to Edinburgh in May, 1843, "almost hoping against hope—scarcely believing that the Government of the country would have been so infatuated as to hazard the breaking up of the Establishment, and that some relief would be afforded to save the consciences of the evangelical party, at least at the eleventh hour." * How vain was that hope he was destined soon to learn.

Beside this example from the far North, we may place the experience of Dr. Roxburgh, then at Dundee. He had been licensed in 1831, at the time "when Dr. Chalmers' labours in the cause of Church extension had fired the young preachers of the Church with a portion of his enthusiasm." He was "one of six probationers who tendered their services to the parish ministers [of Glasgow] to aid them in the supervision of the neglected and overgrown population." To Dr. Roxburgh was assigned the Cowcaddens, then one of the worst localities in the city, where he met with signal success. "He used to pride himself on being the first parochial missionary in the Church of Scotland." While acting as assistant in St. George's, Edinburgh, he "became personally acquainted with Dr. Chalmers, with whom he had much

* Dis. Mss., Parish of Latheron, pp. 2, 3.

congenial intercourse." Accordingly, on being settled in Dundee in 1834, his first effort was in the direction of Church extension. "Finding himself burdened with the oversight of a population of about 9000 souls, in addition to the families of his flock, he forthwith set himself to have a church erected in the west end of his parish. To this Mr. M'Cheyne was appointed, with whom, until the day of his death, he lived in habits of almost daily and most cordial co-operation. The Presbytery of Dundee (2nd August, 1837), having formed an association in aid of Church extension generally, and especially within their own bounds, appointed Dr. Roxburgh convener, and Mr. M'Cheyne secretary. . . . The town and parish were mapped out into districts of such extent and population as appeared to form a suitable parochial charge. . . . And in a short time the erections of Dudhope and Wallacetown Churches in some measure rewarded the efforts of the association." Steps, indeed, were taken towards a wider circle of operation by means of an association for the county. "But the time was now at hand when all these and other promising efforts for the religious and educational well-being of the country began to be paralysed, and were ultimately brought to a stand, through the infatuated conduct of the Government in resisting the righteous claims of the Church. From the first, Mr. Roxburgh was an ardent defender of the Church's spiritual independence and the rights of the Christian people. In maintaining the controversy in which these high interests were involved, he greatly valued the aid derived from the earnest spiritual pleadings, both in the Presbytery and in public, of his friend and brother, Mr. M'Cheyne, whose devout mind deeply felt how much the interests of vital godliness were concerned in the preservation of the principles for which the Church was contending." *

Examples such as these, which it would be easy to multiply, will give some idea of the kind of work that was being done, and of the hopeful prospects which the Established Church then had before her.

And how, then, was it that men in this state of mind, and zealously engaged in such work, came to abandon their position

* Rev. Dr. Roxburgh, Parker Mss.

within the Establishment, and to face all the sacrifices of the Disruption? The question has often been asked, and the answer simply is, that they were constrained by the successive attacks of the patrons, and the encroachments of the Civil Courts. The minds both of ministers and people were gradually awakened by the progress of events. The sacred principles involved became from time to time clear, in view of what was actually taking place. Step by step—one step at a time—the path of duty was made plain, and it was thus by the hand of God Himself, in the leadings of His Providence, that the Church was made ready for the final crisis.

Various allusions to this preparatory process occur in the Disruption Mss. "As the battle became hotter," Mr. Mackenzie, of Farr, states, "I found the concern for the prosperity of Christ's cause was getting stronger, especially among the serious and godly. . . . I had frequent demands upon me for communicating in their own language [the Gaelic] information regarding he causes and progress of the struggle. While thus preparing to gratify their anxiety, and give them correct information, . . . I obtained a closer and more intimate acquaintance with the subjects for my own satisfaction, so that endeavouring to instruct my people in this remote locality, additional light was darting daily on my own mind as to the line of my duty should the State carry matters so far as they ultimately did." *

At Collace, Dr. A. Bonar speaks of the weekly prayer meeting, at which, "as the events of our Church's history became more and more solemnising, we used to speak of them and pray over them. This prepared the people in some measure for the events that followed."†

So far as the ministrations of the pulpit were concerned, there seems to have been little of what has been called preaching to the times, but as public attention was more and more roused, it became impossible to avoid all reference to passing events. For the most part this seems to have been quietly and calmly done, as in the case of Dr. Lorimer, of Glasgow. "In regard to preparations for the Disruption, I am disposed to account the circumstance of my having for some time before been lecturing

* Dis. Mss. xx. p. 2. † Dis. Mss. xxi. p. 1.

through the Acts of the Apostles as useful to myself and congregation in the prospect. Thus the essential principles of a Church of Christ, the heroic spirit of the early Apostles and teachers, in contending with the encroachments of civil authority, and various important lessons for the ministers and people, were brought out in a quiet way, without any *direct* allusion to our own great controversy. The hearers, I have no doubt, saw and made the application for themselves." *

In other cases the reference was more distinctly stated. Mr. Thomson, of Muckhart, as clerk of the Presbytery of Auchterarder, was from the first in the thick of the fight. Yet, "personally," he says, "strife and dissension was always something from which I shrank—over-sensitively shrank. While some of my brethren had held meeting after meeting, . . . I had contented myself with merely circulating tracts. This state of matters had continued till near the end of 1842, when, for the greater part of a week, I could fix on no subject on which I might discourse to my people on the Sabbath. I turned over in my mind text after text, but I felt that I could not break ground at all. Friday passed over, and it was still the same. Saturday forenoon passed, . . . until about seven o'clock in the evening, and I was concluding that I must take up some old sermon, which I was very unwilling to do. . . . In these circumstances, in almost hopelessly turning over the Bible, the book of Daniel opened before me, and it occurred to me that even yet I might obtain some fresh and profitable materials in Daniel's conduct. . . . The subject with great rapidity opened itself before me with an unusual vividness ; and (to me) in an incredibly short space of time, the whole materials of the discourse were collected and arranged. I saw it was to lead me to a full explanation of our position, duty, and prospects, whether as office-bearers or as individuals, in reference to our present difficulties. I was disposed to shrink from it. I felt, however, completely shut up to it, and was impressed with the feeling that it was the call of God; and after some little struggle at thus throwing myself into the field of controversy, I proceeded with the preparation of the discourse. I was led, *first*,

* Dis. Mss. i. p. 2.

to advert to the snare or temptation in the way of the prophet, to obey man rather than God, or evil, apparently, would be the consequence: the loss of station, power, influence—ruin, utter ruin; *secondly*, his conduct under temptation—calmly, resolutely, without hedging, without hesitation, without hankering, doing his duty; and *thirdly*, the consequences that resulted from the line of conduct he followed—the trial not altogether averted—the triumphant issue out of it—the ruin brought on his enemies, and, ultimately, the declarative glory of God greatly promoted. All this I was led to apply to the circumstances of the Church with considerable enlargement and solemnity of mind, and never, perhaps, did I see my people more solemnised and deeply impressed. From that time, I believe, may be dated the determination of many of them to cast in their lot with us." *

* Dis. Mss. xxviii. pp. 3-5.

## III. Non-Intrusion Conflict.

Here it may be right to recount briefly the leading events of the conflict, and to point out the great principles which came to be involved.

In 1834, the Church resolved that her Christian people should have an effective voice in the calling of their pastors. On every vacancy the wishes of the congregations were to be effectually considered. This had, indeed, from the first, been the principle of the Church of Scotland, and it was still part of her constitution, according to the opinion of the highest legal authorities who were consulted, among others the Crown lawyers for the time. And so the Act on Calls—the Veto Act—was passed by the Church in the full belief that it was in accordance with the mind of Christ, was legally within her powers,*

* The highest legal authorities in England were as decided as those in Scotland. The day after the Veto Act was passed, Lord Campbell (then Sir John Campbell) addressed a meeting in Edinburgh, and gave his opinion in explicit terms : " I rejoice to think that not many hours since a law has gone forth from the General Assembly which may have, under the blessing of Providence, the effect of reforming the Church of Scotland, and bringing it back to the standard of its former purity, and removing from it every objection and complaint. By a majority of 46 last night Lord Moncreiff's motion was carried."—Quoted in *Witness*, 13th April, 1842. A few weeks afterwards Lord Brougham, in the House o Lords, took occasion to say : " The late proceedings in the General Assembly have done more to facilitate the adoption of measures which shall set that important question [Patronage] at rest, upon a footing advantageous to the community, and that shall be safe and beneficial to the Establishment, and in every respect desirable, than any other course that could have been taken."—*Mirror of Parliament.* These statements are not quoted here for the purpose of comparing what the learned Lords

and would conduce to the best interests of the people. Unacceptable ministers were no longer to be thrust on unwilling congregations.

It was in the autumn of that same year (1834), that the important parish of Auchterarder, pleasantly situated at the foot of the Ochils, became vacant, and Lord Kinnoul, the patron, on the 14th of October, presented to the living, Mr. Robert Young, a preacher of the Gospel. The people had the usual opportunity of testing his ministerial qualifications, but their opinion was so adverse, that out of a population of 3000, only two individuals, Michael Tod and Peter Clark, could be found to express approbation by signing the call. Five-sixths of the congregation, on the other hand, came forward solemnly to protest against his settlement. The Church, accordingly, found that they could not proceed to his ordination at Auchterarder, and the patron was requested to make another appointment.

Unfortunately, this was not done. Lord Kinnoul and his presentee resolved to carry the case into the Civil Courts, and after the usual preliminary delays, the pleadings began in November, 1837. On the 8th of March, the sentence of the Court was pronounced adverse to the Church and the Christian people. It was decreed that in the settlement of pastors the Church must have no regard to the feelings of the congregation. The trials of the presentee must be proceeded with in order to ordination, just as if the refusal of the people had not been given.

To ward off, if possible, from the Established Church the consequences of this decision, the case was appealed to the House of Lords, where the pleadings were heard in March, 1839, and the decision given on 2nd May of that year. The sentence of the Scottish Court was confirmed. The wishes of Christian congregations were to be considered of no value in any way, and Lord Brougham, in order to make his meaning

then *said* with what they afterwards *did*—though, certainly, the contrast is sufficiently striking. The reader is merely asked to observe what good reason the Church had to believe that the Veto Act was within her competency when such authorities were so profuse in their congratulations, without once hinting a doubt as to the legality of the course that had been taken.

plain, introduced a simile which attracted much attention in Scotland. Alluding to the fact that when the Sovereign of Britain is crowned in Westminster Abbey, one of the coronation ceremonies is the appearance of a champion on horseback, his Lordship remarked that as no one could suppose that the recalcitration of the champion's horse could invalidate the act of coronation, so the protest of a reluctant congregation against an unacceptable presentee would be equally unavailing. The solemnly declared judgment of a Christian congregation would have as little value as the kick of the champion's horse.

Such a decision, so explained, was sufficiently startling; but as if to make the matter yet more plain, the case of Auchterarder was followed by those of Lethendy and Marnoch.*

At Lethendy the people had rejected Mr. Clark, the presentee, an unhappy man, who subsequently gave himself up to drunkenness. The patron and the Presbytery had agreed to settle, and actually did settle, another preacher in the pastoral charge; but Mr. Clark dragged the Presbytery into the Court of Session, when certain proceedings took place to which we shall afterwards refer.

The case of Marnoch, Strathbogie, deserves special attention. It was in 1837 that the vacancy occurred, and Mr. Edwards, a preacher of the Gospel, was presented to the living. For three years he had officiated in the church as assistant to the former minister, and the parishioners knew him only too well—so well, that only one man, Peter Taylor, the innkeeper, signed his call, while six-sevenths of the congregation actively opposed, his settlement. In May, 1838, he was set aside by the Church.

As in the former cases, Mr. Edwards appealed to the Civil Courts, and in June, 1839, a decision was given to the same effect as before. No regard was to be had to any opinions or feelings of the parishioners.

* It must not be inferred from these cases that the veto was often exercised. Patrons, for the most part, were careful; and of the 150 vacancies which took place during the five years following 1834, it is stated that there were about 140 where the settlements were harmonious. Even the adversaries of the law began to praise it. The people were not willing generally to object, unless the reasons were supposed to be strong.

At Marnoch, however, a new feature came into view. The majority of the Presbytery belonged to that party of Moderates in the Church who agreed with the Civil Courts in wishing to retain the power of intruding presentees on unwilling congregations; and so, when the Court of Session ordered the settlement of Mr. Edwards to go forward, they readily lent themselves to the work. The supreme Courts of the Church were obliged to interfere, and this they did in the most decisive way. At the rising of the Assembly in 1839, the Commission of that Court expressly prohibited the Presbytery of Strathbogie from taking any steps towards the settlement of Mr. Edwards. It soon appeared, however, that the majority of that Court were resolved to ignore the prohibition; and this having been formally brought before the Commission at its next meeting, the Moderate majority of the Presbytery were suspended from their office as ministers of the Church, and prohibited from all acts, ministerial or judicial. This was done because they would give no promise to refrain from the intrusion of Mr. Edwards, and because the Church was resolved to protect the people from such intrusion.

It might have been expected that ministers of the Gospel, who had at their ordination vowed obedience to their ecclesiastical superiors, would have respected their vows. But their desire to obey the Court of Session, and carry out the forced settlement, prevailed. In breach of their sacred engagements, they resolved to meet at Marnoch on the 21st of January, 1841 and the striking scene which then took place will not soon be forgotten.

The snows of mid-winter lay deep on the ground, but when the seven Strathbogie ministers met at the church, 2000 people were gathered around and within it. No sooner had the pretended Presbytery taken their places than a solemn protest was handed in by the parishioners against the deed that was about to be done. "We earnestly beg you . . . to avoid the desecration of the ordinance of ordination under the circumstances; but if you shall disregard this representation, we do solemnly, and as in the presence of the great and only Head of the Church, the Lord Jesus Christ, repudiate and dis-

own the pretended ordination of Mr. Edwards, and his pretended settlement as minister of Marnoch. We deliberately declare that, if such proceedings could have any effect, they must involve the most heinous guilt and fearful responsibility in reference to the dishonour done to religion, and the cruel injury to the spiritual interests of a united Christian congregation." Having delivered this protest, it was intimated the people would leave them to force a minister on the parish, with scarcely one of the parishioners to witness the deed.

"The scene that followed was indeed touching and impressive. In a body the parishioners rose, and, gathering up the Bibles" which some of them had been wont to leave, for long years, from Sabbath to Sabbath in the pews, they silently retired. "The deep emotion that prevailed among them was visible in the tears which might be seen trickling down many an old man's cheek, and in the flush, more of sorrow than of anger, that reddened many a younger man's brow. 'We never witnessed,' said an onlooker,* 'a scene bearing the slightest resemblance to this protest of the people, or approaching in the slightest degree to the moral beauty of their withdrawal; for, stern though its features were, they were also sublime. No word of disrespect or reproach escaped them; they went away in a strong conviction that their cause was with the Most Powerful, and that with Him rested the redress of all their wrong. Even the callous-hearted people that sat in the pew, the only pew representing *intrusionism* and forced settlements, were moved—they were awed; and the hearts of some of them appeared to give way. "Will they all leave?" we heard some of them whispering. *Yes; they all left, never to return* until the temple is purified again, and the buyers and sellers—the traffickers in religion—are driven from the house of God. THEY ALL LEFT.'"†

In this way it was that the course of events did more than anything else to open men's eyes to the great principle of Non-intrusion. During the whole of the Church's history it had been held that the call of the people was essential before a

* Mr. Troup, of the *Aberdeen Banner* newspaper.

† Ten Years' Conflict, ii. 198.

minister could be settled. The congregation must invite before the Presbytery could ordain. Here were cases, however, one after another, in which the parishioners were virtually unanimous in their opposition to the presentee. Was the call, then, to be treated as a mockery? Were the Michael Tods and the Peter Taylors of Scotland to overbear the whole Christian people of united parishes? Was it to be tolerated that the members of Christian congregations must submit to have obnoxious presentees forced on them? Surely it is not to be wondered at that so large a body of the ministers and members of the Church should have felt that these proceedings could not be in accordance with the mind of Christ, and should have determined that in such settlements they must at all hazards refuse to take part.

## IV. The Struggle for Spiritual Independence.

At this point, however, there came into the field the still more formidable question of Spiritual Independence, which was destined to act with such decisive effect on the issues of the conflict. As Spiritual Independence is the distinctive principle on which the Free Church has taken her stand before the country, it is right that we should retrace the course of events, and mark the steps by which the great truth on this subject was brought into prominence.

But there is one general explanation which seems to be called for at the outset. Many persons object altogether to Church Establishments on the ground that if the Church accept the pay of the State, she must, in some degree, yield her spiritual authority to be controlled by the State. On behalf of the Church of Scotland this was all along resolutely denied. The Church, though allied to the State, was in this honourable position, that she had the aid and support of Government in all Christian work, while she retained her uncontrolled spiritual freedom, and independence of action. This view Dr. Chalmers proclaimed in London, amid the universal applause of all our leading public men, both in Church and State, so late as 1838. "It should never be forgotten, that in things ecclesiastical, the highest power of our Church is amenable to no higher power on earth for its decisions. It can exclude, it can deprive, it can depose, at pleasure. External force might make an obnoxious individual the holder of a benefice, but there is no external force in these realms that could make him a minister of the Church of Scotland. There is nothing which the State can do to our independent and indestructible Church, but strip her of her temporalities: *nec tamen consumebatur:* she would remain a Church notwithstanding, as strong as ever in the props of her

own moral and inherent greatness. And though shrivelled in all her dimensions, by the moral injury inflicted on many thousands of families, she would be at least as strong as ever in the reverence of her country's population. She was as much a Church in her days of suffering as in her days of outward security and triumph—when a wandering outcast with nothing but the mountain breezes to play around her, and nought but the caves of the earth to shelter her—as now when admitted to the bowers of an Establishment. The magistrate might withdraw his protection, and she cease to be an Establishment any longer, but, in all the high matters of sacred and spiritual jurisdiction, she would be the same as before. With or without an Establishment, she, in these, is the unfettered mistress of her doings. The King, by himself or his representative, might be the spectator of our proceedings, but what Lord Chatham said of the poor man's house is true in all its parts of the Church to which I have the honour to belong: 'In England every man's house is his castle.' Not that it is surrounded with walls and battlements, it may be a straw-built shed. Every wind of heaven may whistle round it, every element of heaven may enter it; but the king cannot—the king dare not." *

Now, what really brought about the Disruption was the fact that the civil authorities of the country adopted and enforced the opposite view, holding, with those advocates of disestablishment, that Government connection infers civil control over the Church in her own proper functions. At the very crisis of the contest, on the 11th of August, 1842, Lord Campbell, in the

* Nine bishops of the Church of England attended the lecture from which the above extract is taken. An American traveller—the Rev. Dr. Clark—who was present, dwells with delight on the sight of so many dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, &c., in the audience. Dr. Chalmers was seated at a table while reading the lecture, but at the more emphatic passages he rose to his feet, the audience in their enthusiasm rising with him, "waving their hats above their heads, and breaking into tumultuous approbation." Dr. Begg was beside him on the platform, and states that in delivering the above passage, the words, "the king cannot—the king dare not," were uttered in accents of prophetic vehemence . . . and were responded to by a whirlwind of enthusiasm, which was probably never exceeded in the history of eloquence.—Memoirs of Dr. Chalmers, iv. 38, 39.

House of Lords, spoke the mind of the Judges :* "While the appellants remain members of the Establishment, they are, in addition to their sacred character, public functionaries appointed and paid by the State ; and they must perform the duties which the law of the land imposes upon them. It is only a voluntary body, such as the Relief or Burgher Church in Scotland, self-founded and self-supported, that can say they will be entirely governed by their own rules."†

No less clearly did Sir Robert Peel state the views held at the time by the statesmen of the country in the year following the Disruption : "I think it of the greatest importance that the *spiritual* authority of the Church should be restrained, as it is restrained and made *subordinate* to Parliament."

These statements were not the mere unguarded utterances of the moment ; they really embodied a theory definitely held, and carried out, as the only theory on which the Church of Scotland could be continued as an Establishment. But how utterly repugnant such views were both to the ministers and laymen of our country need not be said. They held, as their fathers had done, that no Church had the right, for any earthly consideration, to barter away that sacred authority in things spiritual which Christ had given her in trust, and which she must retain and administer as responsible to Him alone.

What brought these opposite views into conflict was the question as to forming the pastoral tie in such cases as Auchterarder. When the Judges decided, as we have seen, that unacceptable ministers must be forced on unwilling parishes, it followed that the Church must ordain them, for not otherwise could they get the living. The views of the court therefore were decided. The Church must go on to examine Mr. Young with a view to his settlement—*i.e.*, his ordination. The Church replied, that she had already ascertained there was a fatal bar to ordination. It was in vain that the Lords of Session decreed the refusal of the people to be no obstacle. The Church held

* *Witness* Newspaper, 13th August, 1842.

† It ought to be observed that this view of the freedom of Non-conformist Churches is *practically* the same with that which was adopted by the Court of Session in *finally* deciding the Cardross Case, in 1863.

that to ordain a minister over a congregation who refused him would be to desecrate the ordinance and sin against the mind of Christ.

And what, then, was to be done? At once the question arose —HAD THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, BECAUSE ESTABLISHED, LOST THE RIGHT TO BE GUIDED BY HER OWN CONSCIENTIOUS CONVICTIONS ON A MATTER SO OBVIOUSLY SPIRITUAL AS THE FORMING OF THE PASTORAL TIE? Men stood forth at once to repudiate the idea. The Spiritual Independence of the Church was proclaimed. The fact was appealed to, that in her Standards, ratified by the State, it was written as plainly as words could express it, that the Church Courts were supreme in things spiritual, as surely as the Civil Courts in things civil. The sole Headship of Christ, His Crown-rights as Redeemer, the duty of undivided allegiance to Him, became the watchwords of a momentous struggle. But though the point at issue thus inevitably involved questions of the deepest sacredness, yet the matter itself was plain and simple. Were the Civil Courts, on account of the stipend, entitled to put a force on the conscience of the Church in such a thing as the forming of the pastoral tie? Must she, at their bidding, break through what she held to be the law of her Divine Master? Unlike the Church of Rome, she made no claim to infallibility—only that, having done her best to ascertain her duty to Christ, she must be allowed, in this spiritual matter, faithfully to follow out her convictions. Unlike the Church of Rome, she pretended to no right to impose her views on the Civil Courts, or to interfere with their independent jurisdiction. It lay with them to judge and dispose of all civil interests which might be involved. But the responsibility of things spiritual, which she had herself to carry out, must be left in her hands.

This was the whole claim of the Church to Spiritual Independence; and surely it is not to be wondered at if men held that no secular judge ought to have the power to force the conscience of the Church in things spiritual.

To the sacredness of this principle the Scottish mind has all along from of old been keenly alive. It surprised Bishop Burnet and his friends to find in Scotland "a poor commonalty

capable to argue upon points of government, and on the bounds to be set to the power of princes in matters of religion." It has astonished many a reader to find Andrew Melville, in the previous century, at the Scottish Court, boldly confronting his sovereign with the declaration: "I must tell you there are two kings and two kingdoms in Scotland: there is King James, the head of this commonwealth; and there is Christ Jesus, the Head of the Church, whose subject James the Sixth is, and of whose kingdom he is not a king, nor a lord, nor a head, but a member." Of our martyrs not a few suffered imprisonment and death with that very confession on their lips. And here, amidst the keen contendings of the Ten Years' Conflict, the same truth was once more coming to the front, and that with such resistless power as ultimately at the Disruption to rend asunder Church and State.*

With this general explanation, we return to the course of events; for it was only by the hard logic of actual facts that, step by step, the truth as to spiritual independence was brought up and forced anew practically on the mind of the Church.

So early as 1838 there were signs of what was coming. In deciding the Auchterarder case, not only had it been broadly stated from the bench that the Church of Scotland was the *creature of the State,* but the general principles of law on which the Court proceeded were felt to have struck a heavy blow at her spiritual liberties. Men took alarm. Within two months the General Assembly was to meet; and at once, from all parts of the country, overtures were sent up calling on that Court to stand firm. And very remarkably was that appeal responded to, when Dr. R. Buchanan presented himself on the floor of the

* It may be worth while to give a sentence from John Welsh, of Ayr, the son-in-law of John Knox. From his prison at Blackness he wrote the Countess of Wigton, in 1605: "These two points—*first, That Christ is the Head of His Church; secondly, That she is free in her government from all other jurisdiction except Christ's*—these two points, I say, are the special cause of our imprisonment, being now convicted as traitors for the maintaining thereof."—History of Mr. John Welsh, Wodrow Soc. Select Biographies, vol. i. p. 23. What else than this did the Free Church assign in 1843 as the ground of the Disruption?

Assembly to move the Independence Resolutions, and take his destined place in the councils of the Church. "Spiritual independence," he showed, "was familiar to the mind of Scotland, inscribed not unfrequently, in characters of blood, on many of the brightest and most memorable pages of our ecclesiastical history. Like some ancient banner which had been borne in triumph through many a hard-fought field, it hung, honoured and venerated, within our Church's armoury." But there were indications that the time had come when we should be "shaking the dust from its folds, and flinging it again abroad to the winds of heaven." Thus the memorable debate of 23rd May was opened, and it ended in a resolution giving no uncertain sound. By a decisive majority the Assembly declared that the supremacy and sole headship of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the spiritual jurisdiction which depends thereon, "they will assert, and at all hazards defend, by the help and blessing of that great God who in the days of old enabled their fathers, amid manifold persecutions, to maintain a testimony even to the death for Christ's kingdom and crown."

During the year which followed, the House of Lords (May, 1839) gave their decision, already referred to, in the Auchterarder case; and on that occasion there had been some remarkably plain speaking. Sir Frederick Pollock, counsel for the Church, had thought it right to intimate to their Lordships that if their decision were adverse, it could not be complied with in its spiritual effects; and Lord Brougham, when decree was pronounced, referred to this statement: "My Lords, it is indecent to suppose any such case. You might as well suppose that Doctors' Commons would refuse to attend to a prohibition from the Court of Queen's Bench; you might as well suppose that the Court of Session, when you remit a cause with orders to alter the judgment, would refuse to alter it." His Lordship, like all who hold Erastian views, had forgot the difference between the civil and the spiritual, the allegiance due to Cæsar and the allegiance due to God.

Within a fortnight, however, the General Assembly again met, and that distinction was held forth before the country by one to whom all men gave heed. A resolution, moved by Dr.

Chalmers, was passed by a triumphant majority, pledging the Church implicitly to obey the Civil Courts in all matters of civil interest, but firmly refusing their control in things spiritual.

A collision was now inevitable. The Church would loyally support the authority of the judges in their own civil department, but in a spiritual matter like the settlement of a pastor—*i.e.*, ordination—she could bow to no authority but the law of her Lord. In the years that followed, it was in vain that this position was assailed from the bench by decision after decision, and interdict after interdict. The Church had taken her ground, and with unswerving fidelity, amid conflicts and sacrifices, she was enabled to hold it to the end.

The first testing case was that of Lethendy, where the Presbytery of Dunkeld found themselves within the grasp of the Court of Session, and placed as culprits at the bar. Mr. Clark, the presentee, as already stated, had proved unacceptable to the people, owing to his preaching, and for other reasons. He had been set aside, and the patron had presented another in his room, Mr. Kessen, whom the people welcomed, and the Presbytery were preparing to ordain. Meanwhile, Mr. Clark stepped forward to claim what he called his rights, applied to the civil judges, and obtained an interdict prohibiting the Presbytery from proceeding to ordain Mr. Kessen. In consequence of this, the Church resolved to abandon all claim to the fruits of the benefice, leaving these to be disposed of between Mr. Clark and other parties as the civil judges might think right; but in regard to ordination to the cure of souls, that was a spiritual matter which the Church was bound to care for. The interdict was disregarded, and Mr. Kessen ordained.

No sooner had this been done than a summons was issued against the Presbytery, and they were brought to the bar of the Civil Court, June 14, 1839. The scene has been depicted by the hand of Hugh Miller:—"In front, elevated on their bench, clothed in their robes of human authority, and invested with the stern *insignia* of human power, sat the judges, twelve in number. Opposite stood another Court—the Court of Christ—called to their bar for executing the spiritual functions conferred by the Lord Jesus on His Church. . . . With a demeanour

touching from its perfect simplicity, which indeed characterised the bearing of them all, the Rev. Mr. Stirling, of Cargill, the senior minister, read a statement," to the effect that they appeared in obedience to the citation, because they were deeply impressed with the obligation of giving all honour and reverence to the judges of the land ; disclaiming any intention of disrespect to the Court in what they have done. But in ordaining to the office of the holy ministry, and in admitting to the pastoral charge, to which, in their proceedings complained of, they had strictly limited themselves, they acted in obedience to the superior Church judicatory, to which, in matters spiritual, they were subordinate, and to which at ordination they had vowed obedience. "It is commonly understood that five of the judges voted in favour of the sentence of imprisonment, and six for the more lenient measure of rebuke, and that the Lord President did not vote at all."

They were accordingly rebuked in terms as strong as the Court could well employ, and a distinct intimation given, that should any breach of interdict again occur, the offenders would inevitably be sent to prison. How little effect this threat produced was soon to be seen. But in the meantime legal proceedings of another kind were taken. An action was raised by Mr. Clark, and the Presbytery were cast in damages and expenses to the extent of several thousand pounds. And so the first case of conflict came to an end—the Church making good her object in shielding and caring for the spiritual interests of her people, while the Court of Session had shown their power not only in rebukes and threats of imprisonment, but in fines so heavy that, looking to the income of Presbyterian ministers, they might, if help had not been contributed by friends, have proved oppressive and ruinous.

Far more formidable, however, was the next case of collision arising out of the settlement at Marnoch. We saw how, amid the snows of winter, the seven ministers of Strathbogie had ordained Mr. Edwards, and forced him on the parish. Expressly to prevent this, the Church had suspended them from the office of the ministry and all its sacred functions ; and hence it followed that other ministers had to be sent to preach and dispense

ordinances to the parishioners. Here, again, to the amazement of many, the Court of Session interposed by an interdict, making it an offence for ministers to preach the Gospel in those seven parishes. Such assumption of spiritual authority by civil judges was a new thing in Scotland since the days of the Stuarts. It had been believed that at common law there was freedom for any minister of any denomination in any part of the country to preach the Gospel to those who chose to hear him ; and men opened their eyes when the Court of Session were found laying the Word and ordinances of God under civil interdict.

On the part of the ministers so prohibited there was, of course, only one thing to be done, and this has been well described by Dr. Guthrie, one of the first on whom the prohibition fell:— "In going to preach in Strathbogie," he said, "I was met by an interdict from the Court of Session—an interdict to which as regards civil matters, I gave implicit obedience. On the Lord's day, when I was preparing for divine service, in came the servant of the law, and handed me an interdict. I told him he had done his duty, and I would do mine. The interdict forbade me, under penalty of the Calton Jail, to preach in the parish churches of Strathbogie. I said, The parish churches are stone and lime, and belong to the State ; I will not intrude there. It forbade me to preach the Gospel in the school-houses. I said, The school-houses are stone and lime, and belong to the State ; I will not intrude there. It forbade me to preach in the churchyard. I said, The dust of the dead is the State's ; I will not intrude there. But when the Lords of Session forbade me to preach my Master's blessed Gospel and offer salvation to sinners anywhere in that district under the arch of heaven, I put the interdict under my feet, and I preached the Gospel." *

The effect of this on the surrounding district was very great. "I recollect," says Mr. Dewar, of Fochabers, "the Sabbath morning when the interdict was served on Dr. Guthrie in Fife-Keith. I called at his lodgings on my way from Botriphnie to preach to my own congregation. During the short time I was in the room a messenger was sent to him by some person

* Memoir of Dr. Guthrie, vol. ii. p. 18.

who wished to see him. He returned immediately, held up the interdict in his hands, and I shall never forget the indignation that flashed in his eye while he exclaimed, 'No interdict shall prevent me from preaching the blessed Gospel of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.' . . . He preached that week, night after night, to crowded audiences in several parishes in Strathbogie. There was intense excitement when, at the conclusion of his discourses, he held up the interdict, and declared that at all hazards, and whatever the consequence might be, he would proclaim the everlasting Gospel to his fellow-men." *

The whole district of Strathbogie was at that time in a state which none who witnessed it can ever forget, and the effects were felt all over Scotland. As time went on the ministerial supplies had to be drawn from all different quarters of the Church. And it naturally followed that, as the ministers went down, a feeling of personal concern was roused in their congregations, and spread from parish to parish, when they knew that a threat of imprisonment was hanging over their pastor.

This was seen, for example, at Ruthwell, on the extreme south of Scotland, when the venerable Dr. Duncan, then Moderator of the General Assembly, went north to Strathbogie. During the earlier stages of the Church conflict his people had been somewhat apathetic. "The first incident that seemed really to pierce the heart of the parish was when" he "was invited to proceed to Strathbogie to supply for a time one or two of the parishes whose ministers had been, for contumacy, suspended. The emotion and anxiety were very great, for they understood that he went, having professed his willingness, if interdicted, to pay the forfeit of disobedience, though it should be imprisonment. . . . When, instead of any such extreme measure, they learned that the legal officer, who followed him to a country inn, was so ashamed of his mission that he could hardly muster courage to execute it; † and that in all places he found a hungering after the good news of salvation, we were all filled

* Dis. Mss. xliv. p. 4, Rev. D. Dewar.

† "The act was performed with downcast looks and stammered apologies, as by one ashamed of his office."—Memoir of Dr. H. Duncan, p. 274.

with a lively joy. . . . He himself was never more refreshed in his ministry than by his visit to that enlivened region. . . . When he came home to Ruthwell his lively prayers and interesting narratives of the state of souls in Strathbogie refreshed us all." *

The reader, however, will best understand the experience of the ministers who were engaged in this service by our giving the narrative of Mr. Wood, of Elie, then of Westruther. He had travelled north over night, and after arriving at Huntly, he says: "I was engaged with my toilet, when a gentleman was announced, who introduced himself as ——; and almost the very first words he spake were: 'Have you got your name on your luggage? Excuse me,' he added, seeing that I was somewhat startled by his salutation, 'but there is no need that you should assist the officers in finding out your name.' The only article of my luggage which bore my name was a hat-box, which I produced, and this he immediately took in charge. Having completed my toilet, I rejoined ——, who took me across to his own house. . . . 'You must understand,' said he, as we crossed the street, 'there are two inns. The one out of which we have come is the Non-intrusion, and that other one is the Moderate inn. And there,' pointing to an individual in a shabby black coat, the pockets of which were evidently distended by papers, who was pacing up and down on the flagstones, 'there is the messenger-at-arms waiting to serve the interdicts. You have no idea,' he added, 'of the length to which the Moderates are going, in order to obtain the names of the ministers. We found our servant-girl listening at the back of the door of our sitting-room for this purpose. No doubt she was bribed.' . . .

"I dined at the inn with Dr. Duncan, of Ruthwell, who was returning from a fortnight's visit to one of the parishes, and who gave me some very interesting details of the religious awakening which seemed to have visited them.

"—— had given me directions how to proceed to my destination. The inn pony was brought to the door, and when asked where I was going, in order to fill up the duty ticket, I told them to the country, according to arrangement. I then waited

* Dis. Mss. xvi. p. 2.

a few minutes till I saw —— on horseback at the foot of the street, and then mounted, and rode after him. Little more than an hour's ride brought us to a farm-house of one storey, consisting of a but and a ben, to the inmates of which, a middle-aged man and his sister, I was introduced as the minister that was to be with them for a fortnight.

"The parish of Cairnie is chiefly upland, and presented several features which were new and strange to me. With the exception of the portion of the high road to Elgin, which ran along the borders of it, I believe there was not a made road in the parish. . . . The harvest was got in upon sleds—*i.e.*, two long poles trailing behind a horse, and connected by a cross piece. Corn was carried to market, and lime fetched for farm purposes, on horseback. My host was a small farmer, who lived with his sister in a one-storey house—a but and ben, as I have said. They were godly people, connected, I think, with the Independents, but I remember the woman saying that they had sent word to their itinerant minister, 'that he need not come the noo, for they had plenty of Gospel preaching.' The arrangements of the house were of the most primitive kind. . . . No grate of any kind; the turf piled up in a heap on the hearth, which it required some skill to arrange. My kind hostess used to come in in the evening and pile the turf *secundum artem*, and after lingering about the room for a while, she would open the door and call to her brother, 'Are ye no comin' ben to have a crack wi' the minister?' and then they would both come and have a good long talk about many things. My heart was much moved when, years afterwards, I learned that my name was among the last words she spoke before her spirit took its flight for the realms of glory.

"Sunday, the 17th of May, was one of the stormiest days I was ever out in, and well it was that we had the use of a small building erected for a Mason lodge, where I preached to a good congregation from Acts ii. 41, and in the evening from John iii. 3.

"As I by no means intended to spend an idle week at Cairnie, I gathered a meeting of the most responsible men in the neighbourhood, to consider what it might be best to do. They

recommended diets of catechising, and I put all the arrangements into their hands. As a specimen of the work, I shall give an account of the proceedings on Monday. We were to have two meetings that day. A pony was provided for me, and after breakfast I set forth, accompanied by some of the neighbours to guide me to my destination, which was a large barn, belonging to a farm at the distance of a mile. I found it crammed to the very doors, and persons sitting even on the baulks of the roof. I soon got the young people gathered together, and put to them a few questions; but the greater part of the business was a lecture or running commentary of my own.

"Having finished my work in that place, I started, under the direction of my guides, for the place where the second meeting was to be held. As far as I recollect, the distance was about a couple of miles, and our procession was to me both novel and interesting. Some forty or fifty people accompanied me. One group would close round my pony and indulge themselves in conversation for a time, and then, falling back, would give way to another. Then, perhaps, some individual would make his or her way toward me with the words: 'Eh! sir, there's an auld man lying bedrid in yon cot-house, and naebody gangs near him to speak to him about his soul. Would ye no just gang in and see him for a minute or twa?' Of course, the appeal could not be resisted, and the whole crowd stopped at the door, and my pony was held for me till I had gone in and spoken a few words, and prayed with him. This was repeated two or three times in the course of our journey. Our second diet of catechising was just like the first, and need not be particularly described. These meetings were held every day of the week except Friday, which was the day of the fair at Keith, and the most numerously-attended one was on Saturday, when nearly a hundred persons were present.

"I preached again on Sunday, the 24th May, from Job xxvii. 10 in the morning, and from 1 John ii. 15-17 in the afternoon. Next day I left, not having had an interdict served on me, because the messenger who held them had never discovered my name. Nobody in the parish knew it, and I was among them simply as *the* minister that had come for a fortnight. I found

out afterwards that extraordinary pains had been taken to discover it, a person having actually been sent out to find where I had my linen washed; but, as I had a sufficient supply with me, I had no need to employ a washerwoman, and so that plan failed. . . .

"I had been so interested in the parish of Cairnie, that before leaving I had promised to return and dispense the sacrament. Accordingly, I went north by the Aberdeen boat on Tuesday the 28th July. As we approached Aberdeen, an old woman in a red cloak came up to me on the deck. 'Ye'll be ane of the ministers that's gaun to Strathbogie?' said she. I signified that I was. She then told me of the deep interest she took in the whole matter, and her earnest desire to give her aid to the cause in any way that she could. 'An' whaur will ye be ga'in when ye get to Aberdeen, for I'm thinkin' ye'll be a stranger there?' I told her I was a stranger, and had no acquaintances in the city. On which she kindly offered me her hospitality for the night, and took me to her son's house, a Mr. Rodger, one of Dr. M'Crie's people. Next morning I started from Aberdeen, and arrived in due time at Cairnie, where I received a very warm welcome. Thursday was our Fast Day, and I had just finished breakfast, and was preparing to go down to our place of worship, when a messenger-at-arms appeared, accompanied by two witnesses, and served me with an interdict.

"This interdict is now before me, having been carefully bound up with other papers, after having done good service in its day at many a non-intrusion meeting, and I think a sentence or two descriptive of it will not be amiss.

"The document consists of forty-two quarto printed pages, each page signed by John Smith, the messenger-at-arms. It commences with an application to the Court of Session, rehearsing the whole proceedings of the General Assembly of 1840 towards the seven ministers of Strathbogie, and praying their lordships to suspend the resolutions and sentence of the General Assembly, to interdict the minority of the Presbytery, and the special commission appointed by the Assembly to co-operate with them, from acting on the said resolutions and sentence, and especially from appointing ministers or probationers to

preach or administer ordinances in the parishes of the complainers, and to 'interdict, prohibit, and discharge, all presbyteries and all ministers and probationers who by the aforesaid resolutions and sentence may be appointed or called upon to preach and administer ordinances within the parishes of the complainers.' Then follows a 'Statement of Facts,' giving a complete history of the Marnoch case from the date of the vacancy in that parish. It is worthy of notice that it appears from this Statement that the interdict as first granted on 20th December, 1839, was only against intruding into the churches, churchyards, or school-houses, and from using the church-bells; and that it was only on the 14th February that the Court, on a reclaiming petition from the seven ministers, altered the interlocutor of the Lord Ordinary (Murray), which had refused to go farther than the interdict already given, and granted the interdict *as craved*—that is to say, interdicted all ministers and probationers from intruding into the parishes of Strathbogie. This interdict had been before the meeting of the General Assembly, and the 'Statement' goes on to rehearse the whole proceedings of the Assembly, against which a renewal of the interdict was desired. Then follow eleven 'pleas in law.' I recollect that I had some difficulty in discovering from the document what thing it was that was forbidden. The last, or outside page, certainly intimated to me, by name, the 'interlocutor, note of suspension, and interdict, statement of facts, pleas in law, and appendix,' interdicting, prohibiting, and discharging me in terms thereof; but it was not till after some search that I discovered on the 41st page, in smaller type than all the rest of the document, the words: 'Edinburgh, 11th July, 1840. The Lords having advised the note of suspension and interdict, on report of Lord Ivory, pass the note, and grant the interdict as craved. (Signed) C. Hope, I.P.D.' So that the terms thereof were, that I should not preach nor administer ordinances within any of the seven parishes of Strathbogie.

"I put the interdict into my pocket, and walked down to the Mason lodge, where I preached to a large congregation from Zech. xii. 10. After sermon, I exhibited the interdict and

pointed out that though I recognised the authority of the Civil Court in regard to churches, churchyards, and school-houses, I never could acknowledge any right in the Court of Session to prohibit the preaching of the Gospel and the administration of the sacraments, and therefore I had not for one moment hesitated to break it.

"The hall or Mason's lodge being too confined, we resolved to have the sacrament in the open air. A suitable meadow was secured. An immense block of granite with a flat surface was made the head of the table, and posts driven into the ground supported planks, which formed the remainder of the table and the seats. A slight tent was also erected for the protection of the speaker in case of bad weather. On Friday, I walked over to Grange and obtained the assistance of two elders for the Sabbath-day services. Saturday was occupied with divine service, when I preached from 1 John v. 1-3; with conversing with communicants for the first time, of whom there were a good many, and not all of them were young persons; and with completing the arrangements of the tent and tables.

"Sabbath, the 2nd day of August, was the communion Sabbath. The text of the action sermon was Heb. x. 13. I also fenced the tables, served three (the whole number), and gave the concluding address. Mr. Moncur, the probationer, who had by that time been permanently stationed at Cairnie, preached in the evening. The season was a very remarkable, and, as I believe, a profitable one. The people were deeply affected—many of them in tears. A good many grown-up people sat down at the table for the first time. Among these there were a grandmother and granddaughter, who sat side by side. The scene was the occasion of a good deal of curiosity among outsiders. As we came down to the place where we celebrated the communion, we could see the suspended parish minister, with a group around him, scanning the proceedings through a telescope over the wall of the manse garden; and I well remember that, while I was fencing the tables, the mail coach from the north to Aberdeen, passing along the highroad about a furlong off, and probably within reach of my voice, actually pulled up, and stood for about five minutes, the passengers looking with curiosity on

the strange scene. The services were closed on the Monday with a thanksgiving sermon from Gen. xviii. 19. On Tuesday I left by the mail for Aberdeen. It was blowing a hurricane (we had reason to be thankful that we had had a quiet Sunday), and I recollect that we had to walk the horses very carefully across the long bridge at Inverury, lest we should be blown over."*

It was a strange time in Scotland, when for many months the attention of the whole country was fixed on those seven parishes. A continuous supply of interdicts went down from Edinburgh; they were served on each minister as he arrived—so soon as his name could be ascertained—and invariably, without the least hesitation, they were broken. A state of things such as this was deeply to be regretted—was, indeed, without parallel among a law-abiding and loyal people like those of Scotland since the old persecuting times. But the same vital questions were again being stirred, the old fire was rising. The Civil Court had at last fairly "overshot the mark—it was Erastian over-much." Broken interdicts were shown as common things all over the country, and the remarkable circumstance was, that, notwithstanding the distinct threat of imprisonment held out by the Court, neither the private parties nor the legal authorities ever ventured to put that threatened penalty in force.

Connected with this case, however, there were other and far more serious matters in reserve. At first, it seemed as if the seven ministers had intended to observe their ordination vows. On being suspended, they ceased the exercise of their ministry. But soon there came a change—they presented a formal application to the Civil Court, asking the secular judges to take off the spiritual sentence, and restore them to the exercise of their sacred functions. And this the Court actually professed to do by a formal decree. It was one of the startling decisions of that strange time when the civil judges assumed the power of restoring the sacred functions which the only competent spiritual authorities had taken away. But the grave ecclesiastical offence was not that the judges gave such a decision, but that the Church's own sons, her ordained ministers, should have asked a Civil Court to exercise the power of the keys, so as to set aside

* Dis. Mss. I.

and overbear the spiritual authority which the Church holds from Christ. Had this been submitted to, it is obvious that all spiritual authority was laid prostrate at the feet of the Court of Session. The seven ministers, accordingly, for this offence, were put on trial. Slowly and reluctantly their case was gone into by the Church, as may be seen at various stages of the procedure. Every effort was made to prevail on them, as brethren, to withdraw from a position so false. The case was most painful in itself, and in the results to which it pointed. But, ultimately, all efforts to ward off the final issue were unavailing, and in the Assembly of 1841 they were deposed from the office of the ministry.

There is only one more of these leading cases requiring briefly to be noticed—that of Stewarton, which arose in 1840, though not decided till January, 1843. It had much to do with forcing on the Disruption.

The parish of Stewarton, in Ayrshire, was extensive and populous, and the Presbytery, anxious for the spiritual welfare of the people, proposed to have a portion of it attached *quoad sacra* to a Chapel of Ease, and put under the charge of an additional minister and kirk-session. Six years before, the Church, following many unchallenged precedents in her own history, had raised such chapels into *quoad sacra* parishes, leaving all civil interests connected with the old parochial arrangements unaffected, the only result being that the ministers were rendered truly Presbyterian, were put on a par with their brethren in Church Courts, and had kirk-sessions to aid them in their pastoral work. The immediate effect of the act had been very great. Nearly 200 churches at once rose over the land, not only in populous cities, but in extensive country districts, as at Latheron already referred to, where a parish with thirty miles of sea-board, and 320 square miles of area, instead of its one parish church, had five fully-equipped charges, each with its own minister, kirk-session, and school. It was blessed work for the great Master, into which Dr. Chalmers, Mr. M'Cheyne, and many men of kindred spirit had thrown their whole heart.

But on this field also the Church was now to be assailed,

and once more the Court of Session was called in to deal the blow. Certain heritors of Stewarton applied for an interdict. It could not be shown that any civil interests were infringed on; the Church had been careful to leave these where she found them. No civil law, not even the formidable Patronage Act of Queen Anne, had been touched. The whole action of the Church was confined to making more efficient provision for having her spiritual work carried out. But in spite of this fact, and of the masterly argument and protest of Lord Moncreiff, the interdict was granted. At a blow, more than 200 ordained Presbyterian ministers were stripped of one-half their sacred functions, more than 200 kirk-sessions were extinguished, and this was done by civil judges sitting in a secular court. Without any allegation that a single Act of Parliament had been infringed on, the Lords of Session wrested from the Church the power of administering in such matters the spiritual affairs belonging to her as a Church of Christ.

How the decision was received may be seen from the speech of Dr. Chalmers, when immediately afterwards, addressing the Commission of Assembly, he exclaimed, "It is not on one point, but on all that we are assailed. . . . The ancient wall of circumvallation that has protected us in former days has all been broken down."*

And not less decisive was the language of Dr. Begg, who was prepared to accept the judgment in the Stewarton case as of itself enough to drive the evangelical majority out of the Establishment—"This judgment is deserving of the most solemn and serious consideration of the Church, as one of the most violent attempts which has yet been made to overturn the foundations of our Church. Our foundation principle is Presbyterianism—that all our ministers are equal—that every minister is bound to rule as well as teach—and it appears to me that the Civil Courts have no more right to subvert that principle than they have to overturn the whole constitution of the Church; or rather, this is the constitution which the Civil Courts are now attempting to overturn.

* *Witness* Newspaper, 1st February, 1843.

* * * * *

"But whatever the Government may do or not do, we have a plain and clear course of duty to follow—to stand upon our Presbyterian principles and say, If you drive these men out of the Church you will drive us also. We will go with them. They shall not be separated from us, nor will we allow the Civil Courts to separate those whom Christ has united, or to separate rule from teaching in Christ's house. There is a formidable prospect as well before the Church as before the kingdom of Scotland. Our leaving the Establishment I reckon to be a very insignificant matter as compared with what is to come after." *

While a struggle such as this was going on, the feelings of both parties, as might have been expected, began to get embittered. Hard sayings came from the bench, little in keeping with the usual judicial calmness of the place; while on the other side bold words were fearlessly spoken, according to the use and wont of Scottish Churchmen since the days of Knox. Obviously, things were getting dangerous, and if the conflict went on in this fashion, the most disastrous results must be looked for.

It was the fear of this that had led to certain private attempts, so early as 1840 and 1841, to come to a common understanding. On the one hand, Lord Aberdeen and Mr. Hope, Dean of Faculty, and on the other, Dr. Chalmers and Dr. Candlish, sought to reach some common ground on which the controversy might be arranged. The direct result was unfortunate, and yet, when these negotiations ceased, the Church was not without reasons for thankfulness, both because of what had been escaped from, and what had been gained.

There had been great danger of a compromise. The Veto law was to be repealed, and to this the friends of the Church would have willingly agreed, provided some other plan could have been found for securing the standing of the Christian people, and skilful lawyers and statesmen were exercising all their ingenuity in devising a way in which the Veto law was really

* *Witness*, 28th January, 1843.

to be set aside, and yet the object of it substantially gained. The problem was found to be insoluble, and in the opinion of many it was well. Under all the specious appearances of agreement, there lay a real antagonism of principle—Erastianism against Spiritual Independence—and in the end it was surely best that such questions should be dealt with frankly and honestly, apart from all appearance of evasion.

And there was one other reason for thankfulness. In after days, when the great breach had actually taken place, the leading men who guided the counsels of the Church had the satisfaction of thinking that the most sincere desire had been manifested to go as far as, in honour, they could—to the extreme limit indeed—in the way of fair and reasonable concession to the views of their opponents. Even at the time the negotiations had one beneficial result. The favourite cry against the Church, which her adversaries were never tired of repeating, was that the whole movement was due to clerical ambition. The Church was merely grasping at power for herself. Mr. Hope, the Dean of Faculty, had made that the great theme of a bulky pamphlet, and year after year the secular press had kept incessantly ringing the changes on priestly love of power. It turned out that the measure which Lord Aberdeen pressed on their acceptance was designed to take the power from the people and give it to the Church. This, in the face of the country, she distinctly refused, insisting that her Christian people should have their rights fully preserved. In some quarters this announcement seems to have been received with surprise, more especially in the House of Peers, where some even of those opposed to the Church could not withhold a tribute of respect to her for the course which she had followed.

There is no need to dwell on the cases which began rapidly to multiply towards the close of the conflict. Hardly any step could be taken by the Church in which she was not obstructed by some interdict. When a minister was about to be deposed for theft, on the ground of a sentence acquiesced in by himself, an interdict came from the Court of Session to prevent his deposition. When a Presbytery was about to try a minister

on a charge of fraud and swindling, an interdict came to arrest the process. And the worst feature of these and similar interferences was, that they resulted logically from those general principles of law which had been deliberately adopted by the Court. Thus it was that, while the secular judges were invading the spiritual province, and subverting the authority of the Church, the minds both of ministers and people were opened, step by step, to the true meaning of spiritual independence, and men were made to feel the vital importance of the principles at stake.

When the meeting, therefore, of the Assembly of 1842 drew near, it was felt that some far more decisive step must be taken on the part of the Church. Accordingly, the Claim of Right, the most important document in the whole "Ten Years' Conflict," was prepared. It was drawn by Mr. Alexander Dunlop, to whom the Church was so deeply indebted, and after being urged on the Court by the eloquence of Dr. Chalmers, it was, by an overwhelming majority, adopted and passed. It consisted of a formal appeal to the Queen and Government of the country, narrating the grievances of the Church, and claiming, under the constitution of Scotland, a right to be protected from the encroachments of the Civil Court. The language was firm, but according to the admission of even hostile statesmen, it was calm and respectful. Addressing the Throne, the Church made a solemn demand for relief, accompanied by a no less solemn assurance, that if her claim were refused, she could no longer continue to discharge her functions within the Establishment.

For many months no notice was taken in high quarters of the appeal thus formally made, but as summer and autumn passed away, there were ominous signs of approaching danger.

In the House of Lords the final decision in the Auchterarder case was pronounced on the 9th of August. The Court found, on the application of Mr. Young, that he was entitled to damages—estimated by himself at £10,000—due from the Presbytery on account of their decision. It was a new state of things. Presbyteries were Courts known to and sanctioned by the constitution of the country, and hitherto it had been believed that, as jurymen in their box and judges on the bench

are exempted from actions for damages, even when found wrong in their decisions, so the members of Presbyteries were equally protected, and it became a question whether the Church could remain in this position, that when she was addressing herself to the solemn responsibilities connected with the ordination of a minister, she might have an action of damages for £10,000 hanging over her head.

There was yet more serious cause for alarm. Principal Macfarlane, Dr. Cook, and the Moderates as a party, resolved finally to make common cause with the deposed ministers of Strathbogie. There were among their number, indeed, those who, like Dr. Brunton, repudiated the idea of spiritual sentences being invalidated by the decisions of secular judges. But the party, as a whole, took their stand on the civil law, as entitling them to treat the spiritual sentence as a nullity. It was difficult to view this as anything else than a combination within the Church herself for the overthrow of that sacred authority which she held from Christ, her Head; and it was obvious that this attitude of the Moderates must lead to new and yet more formidable complications.

The surviving ministers of that time may still recall the feeling with which on every side the clouds were now seen to be gathering, and all the signs of a fatal crisis hurrying on. The principles for which it was their duty to contend were never felt to be more sacred, but perplexities were rising, the path of duty was getting dark, and in many a manse men were in a season of felt need, looking up to the great Master not only for grace to be found faithful, but for wisdom to "know what Israel ought to do."

## V. The Convocation.

In these circumstances a suggestion was thrown out and eagerly welcomed, that all the ministers who had acted together during the conflict should meet at Edinburgh for mutual conference. Thirty-two fathers of the Church issued the invitation; travelling expenses were provided; the laity of Edinburgh opened their homes to receive the ministers, and the result was, that in the wintry days of November they came from all parts of Scotland, 474 in number, the largest Assembly of ministers which up to that time Edinburgh had ever seen. They were a band of brethren among whom one felt it was no common privilege to be allowed to take a place. A keen observer from the outside, Lord Cockburn, has testified that the whole chivalry of the Church of Scotland was in that Convocation, and there was one in their own ranks, Dr. James Hamilton, himself a "man greatly beloved," who with loving hand has sketched the gathering.

"When we looked at the materials of the meeting . . . we wished that those were present in whose power it lies to preserve to the Scottish Establishment all this learning and this worth. There was the chairman [Dr. Chalmers], who might so easily have been the Adam Smith, the Leibnitz, or the Bossuet of the day, but who, having obtained a better part, has laid economics, and philosophy, and eloquence on the altar which sanctified himself. There was Dr. Gordon, lofty in simplicity, whose vast conceptions and majestic emotions plough deeper the old channels of customary words, and make common phrases appear solemn and sublime after he has used them. There were Dr. Keith, whose labours in the Prophecies have sent his fame through Europe, and are yearly bringing converts into the Church of Christ; and Mr. James Buchanan, whose deep-

drawn sympathy, and rich Bible lore, and Christian refinement have made him a son of consolation to so many of the sons of sorrow. There were Dr. Welsh, the biographer and bosom friend of Thomas Brown ; Dr. Forbes, among the most inventive of modern mathematicians ; and Dr. Paterson, whose 'Manse Garden' is read for the sake of its poetry, and wisdom, and Christian kindness where there are no gardens, and will be read for the sake of other days when there are no manses. And there was Dr. Patrick Macfarlan, whose calm judgment is a sanction to any measure, and who, holding the richest benefice in Scotland, most appropriately moved the resolution that rather than sacrifice their principles they should surrender their possessions. And not to mention 'names the poet must not speak,' there were in that Assembly the men who are dearest of all to the godly throughout the land, the men whom the Lord has delighted to honour—all the ministers in whose parishes have been great revivals, from the Apostle of the North, good old Dr. Macdonald, whose happy countenance is a signal for expectation and gladness in every congregation he visits, and Mr. Burns, of Kilsyth, whose affectionate counsels and prayers made the Convocation feel towards him as a father, down to those younger ministers of whom, but for our mutual friendship, I could speak more freely."*

It was on Thursday, the 17th of November, 1842, that this important meeting assembled in St. George's Church, where, after an hour spent in devotional exercises, Dr. Chalmers preached to an overflowing audience one of those sermons which once heard can never be forgotten. His text, "Unto the upright there ariseth light in the darkness," went straight to men's hearts. Frankly, and without disguise, he pointed to the darkness gathering round the Church's path of duty, and then broke forth in the confidence of assured faith as he spoke of the light promised to the upright.

The meetings which followed were held in Roxburgh Church, near the University. The proceedings were strictly private. Only ministers were present, and the whole arrangements were studiously made to facilitate the interchange of sentiment

* Harp on the Willows, pp. 14, 15.

among brethren who had this in common, that all their earthly interests were at stake. Twice a-day the Convocation met, a considerable portion of the time at each diet being spent in prayer, with occasional intervals of praise. And thus men proceeded, as best they could, to look in the face the whole difficulties of their position.

On one point there was found from the outset to be complete agreement: For the Church to recede, or in any way abandon the ground she had taken up, was held at once to be impossible.

But while this was clear, there was yet considerable difference of opinion as to the course which ought actually to be taken. Some of the more ardent friends of Evangelism regarded the whole question as already settled, and wished at once to precipitate the Disruption, as if the only thing to be done was immediately to separate from the State. Others whose Church principles were not less decided shrank from such a course, proposing to remain in the Establishment, fighting the battle as hitherto inside the Church, and leaving it for the State to take the serious responsibility of breaking the tie and driving them out. It was on the evening meeting of the 18th that the whole differences of opinion on these and other points, more especially Patronage, came into view, and they were, it must be confessed, urged with sufficient keenness—so much so, indeed, that there arose in many minds no little anxiety as to the result. The prediction of the adversaries had on one point been signally falsified. The Convocation was to be a failure, they said, because so few would attend.* But the adversaries had another ground of comfort in reserve. Even if they came together, said the *Times*, "We may safely leave the dissensions which already manifest themselves among the Non-intrusion party to humble the pride and overthrow the power of their leaders."† Was this, then, going to be realised? One of the members has recorded his

* Dr. Guthrie tells how Mr. Maitland (afterwards Lord Dundrennan) meeting Mr. Craufurd (Lord Ardmillan), assured him that the Convocation was to be "a complete failure. 'What,' said Craufurd, 'would you call it a failure if two hundred were to attend? Would you call *that* a failure?' 'No,' says Maitland, 'but catch two hundred of them coming up for such a purpose.'"—Memoir of Dr. Guthrie, vol. ii. p. 44.

† Ten Years' Conflict, vol. ii. p. 392.

impression that "altogether the tone of this evening was fitted to alarm and humble. To an adverse and reproachful eye it would present, indeed, nothing but conflicting views and irreconcilable feelings. Yet, to one who looked deeper, and with no partial bias, it might have, even now, been obvious that the confusion was not that of angry feud, but of honest and courageous freedom. There was union of purpose and mutual confidence among all. They saw eye to eye, and were not afraid to look each other in the face." At the same time there was much to show the need of prayer. "And to this duty were the brethren forthwith admonished with consummate tact, and touching pathos, and gracious success by Dr. Candlish. It was manifest that the speaker himself was peculiarly solemnised."*

With what feelings men separated late on that evening may be seen from the journal of Dr. Landsborough: "Went to my lodgings full of fears. Prayed for union and heavenly wisdom. Awoke in the morning with a sigh." Next day he notes a change. "19th November.—Went to Convocation. Dr. Chalmers began the business. He seemed sent by the Lord in answer to prayer. The Spirit of the Lord seemed to breathe on the troubled waters. All became wonderful harmony and agreement."† Another has said: "It was the same Convocation that had met the previous evening, but how different its aspect and omen. . . . Light had broken, and order was restored. Suddenly the heavens became clear, and there was a great calm."‡

These feelings prevailed and deepened through the five succeeding days that the Convocation lasted. Men were obviously in earnest in seeking light, the difficulties of each course were conscientiously weighed, and ultimately there came to be substantial unity.

The first series of resolutions—passed almost unanimously—stated, as the previous Assembly had done, the only terms on which the Church could discharge her functions in connection with the State. To this declaration 423 ministers declared their assent on the spot, and the number was largely increased by subsequent adherences.

* *Pres. Review*, January, 1843, pp. 584, 585.

† Memoir, p. 174. ‡ *Pres. Review*, January, 1843, p. 585.

This was well; but what if the claims of the Church should be refused? Looking to such an issue as all but certain, the Convocation felt it their duty to speak out in such terms that no blame should rest with them if, when the crisis came, men were taken by surprise. By a deliberate vote, a second series of resolutions was passed, in which they pledged themselves that if the claim for redress were rejected, they would "tender the resignation of those civil advantages which they can no longer hold in consistency with the free and full exercise of their spiritual functions." It was during the second week that this decision was come to, when many of the members had already gone home; but these resolutions were agreed to by 354 ministers, ultimately increased by adherents to the number of 480.

Before the Convocation closed, Dr. Chalmers unfolded his scheme for a Sustentation Fund, and recommended it with such eloquence that Dr. Nathaniel Paterson exclaimed, "The lifeboat looked almost better than the ship." It is believed that few, if any, members of the Convocation had the least idea of the far-seeing sagacity, worthy of the highest statesmanship, with which the plan was devised. Could they have known the actual results, their trial would have been comparatively light, but men only smiled as they listened with good-humoured incredulity to what seemed a visionary scheme. Their trust was in the promised care of Him whose word cannot fail.

The work was now over, but before closing they adopted unanimously a formal and solemn address to Government, which was to accompany the resolutions. They appointed a committee to send deputations throughout the country. It was further agreed, on the motion of Dr. Lorimer, of Haddington, to make the state of the Church a subject of special prayer, a fixed time being set apart for this purpose in all their manses each Saturday evening. A resolution was also passed appointing Dr. James Buchanan to draw up an address to the people of Scotland; and this when it appeared was found to be written with all his well-known gracefulness of style and power of appeal, and was widely circulated over the country.

The last meeting was in public, and was held in Lady Glenorchy's Church, where addresses were delivered stating the results.

And so men prepared to part, and go home to their parishes with the feeling that, however hopeless might be their appeal to Government, yet there was not only the unfailing promise of a gracious God to sustain them, but they had, throughout the Church, a great brotherhood of men like-minded with themselves, on whose unflinching steadfastness in the day of trial they could firmly rely. "The scene we witnessed when as a band of sworn brothers they stood up to close and seal their work with a hymn of thanksgiving, on the evening of the 24th November, in Lady Glenorchy's Church, we shall never forget. The solemn awe of eternity had fallen upon the vast congregation. And the brethren seemed as if a sacred host of chosen warriors, who just had . . . plighted their faith to one another, and were now prepared, even unto death, to follow the Captain of their salvation."*

It may be well now to glance at the impressions which all this made on the minds of some who took part in it, as these are to be found in the Disruption Mss. Dr. Lorimer, of Glasgow, observes: "I was present, heard the whole discussions, and gave in my adhesion without any reservation. . . . My venerable father was in the chair of the Convocation on the memorable night, or rather morning, when the final resolutions were voted upon. It might be between two and three o'clock in the morning when Mr. Guthrie, of Edinburgh, called the roll. I have ever felt the Convocation to have been the real Disruption of the ministers. I was encouraged by the effects of the Convocation on the country. Down to that moment there had been an ominous and most discouraging apathy. The decision and self-denial of the ministers first aroused their congregations."†

Mr. Robertson, of Gartly, one of the faithful minority in Strathbogie, who bore themselves so steadfastly through the battle of interdicts, mentions that he "hailed with delight the circular calling the Convocation." Describing the effect of Dr. Chalmers' opening sermon, he says it was attended "with such Divine wisdom and unction as to strengthen and support me in my principles; and I firmly believe that, to the great body of ministers who had the privilege to hear it, by God's blessing,

* *Pres. Review*, January, 1843, p. 586. † Dis. Mss. i. p. 3.

it 'created the spirit it described, and conveyed the light of which it showed the need.' . . . What with this and the spirit of prayer and supplication which was evidently poured out, I felt myself enabled to address the Convocation; . . . and I have to bless the Lord that what such an humble individual as I was enabled to say . . . had, from the circumstance of my advanced years and numerous family, contributed somewhat to nerve the courage of some weak and wavering spirits." * Such was the good man's remembrance within four years of the event. A report of what he actually said was published immediately fterwards by one who was present: "I am advanced in life, with a family of twelve yet to be provided for. Above all, if I am driven from the Church I must leave my people; for not a foot of ground will I be allowed within the parish whereon to build a place of worship. Nevertheless, my family interests, my early associations, my people, whom I have tended so long, I am willing to surrender at the call of duty." †

The remark of another country minister, the Rev. R. Inglis, of Edzell, attracted notice at the time: "Some of my brethren have a difficulty in pledging themselves to go out, because of their numerous families; I merely wish to say that that is one of my reasons for resolving to make the sacrifice. I am the father of a young family; I shall have little to leave them, more especially if we are forced to give up our livings. But I want, at least, to leave them a good name—I wish all my children, when I am gone, to be able to say that they are the children of an *honest man*." ‡

* Dis. Mss. xvii. p. 2.

† *Pres. Review*, January, 1843, p. 589.

‡ He died 19th January, 1876, and his copresbyter and friend, Mr. Nixon, of Montrose, after mentioning the difficulties which Mr. Inglis had in the education of his family, in consequence of the Disruption, adds: "It says much for the nobleness with which difficulties can be overcome, and the blessing that rests on the right rearing of children, that the parents of the children in the Free Manse of Edzell so reared theirs, that nine sons have gone out into the world, some to the most distant regions, and are not only making for themselves good outward positions, but as regards the bulk, if not the whole of them, are remembering and exemplifying the lessons taught them under the parental roof."—*Free Church Monthly Record*, 1st March, 1876.

"Mr. M'Cheyne was never absent from any of the diets of this solemn assembly. He felt the deepest interest in every matter that came before them; got great light as to the path of duty in the course of the consultations; and put his name to all the resolutions, heartily sympathising in the decided determination that, as a Church of Christ, we must abandon our connection with the State if our Claim of Rights were rejected. These eight days were times of remarkable union and prayerfulness. The proceedings from time to time were suspended till the brethren had again asked counsel of the Lord by prayer; and none present will forget the affecting solemnity with which, on one occasion, Mr. M'Cheyne poured out our wants before the Lord."*

There were some whose enforced absence prevented their taking part in the consultations, but whose impressions may also be noted. Mr. Taylor, of Flisk, then of Grangemouth, thus records his experience: "Often has it been said that it was the inspiriting influence of the public meetings which hurried on our ministers to take the steps which led to the Disruption. My own experience contradicts this. It was home thought and home reflection which regulated every step I had taken. I sought guidance from God, and 'with His eye set on me, He gave me direction.'" After telling how he was one of those who, in the first instance, thought "that no step toward separation should be taken by the Church herself, but that, maintaining at once her principles and her position, she should leave the awful responsibility of disestablishing her upon the State," he goes on to mention how he came to be convinced of the untenableness of this position, "and well has it been for the efficiency of our movement that, instead of wasting her energies in fruitless litigations, the Church was led at once to come out on the ground of her Protest." In estimating the importance of the Convocation, he says, "the Rubicon was passed."†

A similar case was that of Mr. M'Millan, minister of Kilmory, a parish in one of the secluded districts of the island of Arran. It is said he had not much turn or taste for the business of Church Courts, and at Kilmory could with difficulty have

* Memoir, p. 154. † Dis. Mss. xxxvii.

attended either Presbytery or Synod. Yet he was much interested in Church affairs, and the interest deepened as there was the prospect of a serious issue. He was unable, through bodily infirmities, to attend the Convocation, but he cheerfully appended his name to both series of resolutions. "I think," he says, writing to a friend at the time, "that the Church should accept of no measure whatever which leaves her at the mercy of the Civil Court, for it is perfectly evident that the Court of Session at present takes a kind of pleasure in opposing and oppressing the Evangelical party in the Church. . . . I have received a copy of the Memorial to Government. The concluding part of it is very solemn and pressing, and our rulers must be perfectly regardless of the real welfare of the nation, and of their own responsibility to God, if they dare to set it at nought."

## VI. Appeal to the Country.

A great step had now been taken. Men stood pledged, if there were no redress, to give up their livings, and abandon the Establishment. It may well be believed that, on returning to their parishes, there was no little anxiety as to what impression all this would make on their people. In many cases they left Edinburgh with the foregone conclusion, not only that their demands would be rejected in Parliament, but that they themselves would have to separate from their congregations, and to leave the country. Mr. Thomson, of Muckhart, says: "My hopes of success in the country districts were but small. The tenantry, by long-continued efforts on the part of the gentry, have, in the great majority of instances, in some districts been brought into a state of complete subserviency to their landlords in political matters; and I fear the pressure has been so long continued, that even in reference to ecclesiastical matters there would be submission too." * After referring to other discouragements, he states:—"Under these circumstances, I have been seriously turning over in my mind whether I should fix on Australia or America as the scene of my future labours."

In regard to city congregations, Dr. Lorimer, of Glasgow, had similar misgivings: "It was impossible to hide from one's self (so we judged before the Disruption) that there would not be room in Glasgow for all who were certainly resolved to come out. The next consideration with me was that those who had been longest in Glasgow . . . would naturally be the persons to remain. Consequently that for myself, and various other younger brethren, there was no course but to remove to a distance. Despairing, or at least very doubtful, of finding a

* Dis. Mss. xxviii. p. 6.

sphere of usefulness as a minister of the Gospel at home, I seriously bethought me to what other department I could turn myself. When I thought of the ministry abroad, my mind turned towards Canada. Repeatedly did I speak of Holland as probably a cheap and pleasant residence. Mrs. Lorimer and I had been not a little interested in that country on a brief tour in 1839." *

It seems strange that even Mr. M'Cheyne, of Dundee, should have thought there would be no sphere for him in Scotland. A copresbyter, Mr. Stewart, of Lochee, who returned with him from the Convocation, mentions that they had been consulting "as to what it might be their duty to do in the event of the Disruption, and where they might be scattered. Mr. Stewart said he could preach Gaelic, and might go to the Highlanders in Canada if it were needful. Mr. M'Cheyne said: "I think of going to the many thousand convicts that are transported beyond the seas, for no man careth for their souls." † In the same spirit Dr. James Hamilton, looking on the Convocation, and saddened by the prospect of their being cast out, takes comfort in the thought of what a blessing it would be to the world if they were "scattered abroad, everywhere preaching the Word." ‡

It was with such feelings, and in the face of such difficulties, men had to go forward. In some cases, when they returned to their parishes, it might well have seemed that their worst fears were going to be realised. At Dundee, Mr. Lewis found that the intelligence of the resolution he had taken "was received generally in solemn silence, not unfrequently, also, with a look of doubt and hesitation, as if inquiring whether we had done wisely. They were evidently unprepared for so serious an issue. The prudence and caution of the national character now showed itself as decidedly as its love of the logic and discussion of the question had in the preceding ten years. They seemed to hang back and shrink from the practical issue, as if a thing never in their contemplation. The more outspoken would say: 'I hope you have well thought of it.' 'Are you sure there is no other course?' 'Have you not been hasty?' . . . In my then state of mind, it seemed as if the people were about to desert

* Dis. Mss. i. p. 4. † Memoir, p. 155. ‡ Harp on the Willows, p. 15.

their ministers, and they were about to be left alone in that sacrifice to principle." * He was soon to be undeceived.

At Cleish, in Kinross-shire, Mr. Duncan mentions: "I had no reason to expect any sympathy from the greater part of the people of Cleish, . . . so that there appeared to be a moral certainty that a mere handful would leave along with me." †

At Stevenston, in Ayrshire, Dr. Landsborough's people "did not appear to take much interest in the matter. Even after the Convocation, which I attended, the interest was not greatly increased, so that when meetings were called, to be addressed . . . on the state of the Church, it was disheartening to see that few attended. As my own mind was made up to leave the Establishment if matters were not satisfactorily settled, my prospects were far from being bright. I said to some who I knew were friendly: . . . 'I think very few will follow me.' 'They will, perhaps, be more numerous than you expect,' was the reply." ‡

Even at Kilsyth, after the time of revival, and the numerous meetings called by Dr. Burns, the prospect at first was not encouraging. "When [after the Convocation] names and subscriptions were called for, preparatory to the anticipated Disruption, few seemed ready to take the step, . . . cherishing, no doubt, the hope that the dreaded catastrophe might somehow be averted. One member, a pious weaver in the village, said that 'as it was not till the people saw David going up by the ascent of Olivet, his head covered as he went up barefoot, that all the people that was with him went up weeping, . . . so it would be in this case.'" §

One great difficulty with which the Church had to contend at the time was the general hostility of the newspaper press, and its formidable power in the country. Hugh Miller had, indeed, been for some years in the field, giving powerful aid in the

* Pres. of Dundee, Parker Mss.

† Dis. Mss. xii. p. 1. His father, Dr. Duncan, of Ruthwell, had said (Memoir, p. 286), "I hope none of my children will show the white feather. Indeed, I know they will not." He was right in regard to them all; and not even the above discouragement made the young pastor of Cleish hesitate.

‡ Dis. Mss. xxxviii. p. 1.

§ Dis. Mss. xxix. p. 6.

columns of the *Witness*. The *Scottish Guardian* and other prints were doing valuable work, but as a whole, the press was hostile. Of the sixty-three newspapers published in Scotland, only eight were on the side of the Church,* and the holding of the Convocation seemed only to have rendered the opposition of the hostile press more bitter.† Difference of political sentiment made no difference in this. "By asserting the independent jurisdiction of the Church," said Dr. Cunningham, "we have drawn upon our head the wrath of Tories, Whigs, and Radicals. . . . There is scarcely an organ of public opinion that supports our principles. And if you attend to the public press you will find, perhaps, the attack of a High Church journal on Friday, followed upon Saturday by a Voluntary print; . . . but in spite of all this misrepresentation, . . . we are confident in the goodness of our cause."

In view of the momentous interests at stake, it obviously became the duty of the Church, by means of deputations, addresses, and otherwise, to come into direct communication with her people, and make known her principles all over the land; and such appeals, for the most part, met with the most hearty and cordial response. In dealing with the apathy of his people, for example, above referred to, Mr. Lewis, of Dundee, delivered a series of six lectures, in the course of which he remarks: "I never had a more attentive or interested auditory, the same persons making it a point of duty to hear me out. On the sixth and last night, I put the question: Leave the Established Church or remain—when upwards of 400 signed their adherence [to the Convocation resolutions]; and subse-

* Life of Dr. Cunningham, p. 134.

† A single illustration may be given to show the spirit in which the warfare was carried on. Mr. Maitland Makgill Crichton was an active supporter of the Church. "With our two editorial auxiliaries, paste and the scissors," says the *Witness*, "we have been painfully clipping out and fastening together in a single column every vituperative scrap of which Mr. Crichton has been the subject, for the last fortnight, and find, on spreading the roll before us on the carpet, that it already extends to the astounding length of eleven feet, six inches, and three eighth-parts of undiluted abuse in one brief fortnight. Depend upon it, Mr. Makgill Crichton is a very formidable man. His efforts are telling; he strikes so hard that the blow rebounds."—Memoir of Mr. M. Crichton, p. 166.

quently the number was nearly doubled. . . . On looking over the list . . . it was obvious that both the intelligence and heart of the congregation were with us." *

In most cases it was found that a single meeting was enough to gain the object. Thus at Woodside, Aberdeen, "the actings of the Convocation were fully explained to the people. The answer of Government to the Church's Claim was fully discussed at a meeting held on the 25th January, and an adherence of 1145 persons belonging to the congregation obtained."† At Ardoch, in Perthshire, the Convocation gave a powerful impulse to the process of preparation. "Then was my congregation," says Mr. Grant, "convinced that the Church was truly in earnest, that the principles for which she was contending deeply affected the glory of the Redeemer and vital godliness. . . . This produced a marked solemnity, and not a few made the difficulties of their minister to be their own, the difficulties of the Church their own. . . . Two-thirds of my congregation . signed the Convocation resolutions."‡

At Lesmahagow, "after the Convocation, considerable interest was excited throughout the parish. . . . The Disruption being now to all appearance inevitable, I deemed it my duty," Dr. Parker states, "to summon a general meeting of the parishioners on a week-day evening, that I might state what had been done, and the steps that now behoved to be taken in order to the maintenance of a Free Presbyterian Church. The meeting was peculiarly solemn. From the commencement to the close the deepest attention prevailed. Many were in tears, and when we joined in singing, Pray that Jerusalem may have peace and felicity, &c., it seemed that the associations of many years were awakened, and the spirit of the olden time brought back again. Numbers pressed forward to subscribe their adherence to the resolutions of the Convocation, and to declare their determination of making common cause with the faithful ministers."§ The meeting was held on the 28th December, a date which was merely fixed as convenient for the parties, but it "was the anniversary of the death of one of the martyrs of Lesmahagow

* Mr. Lewis, Pres. of Dundee, Parker Mss.

† Dis. Mss. xxvii. p. 3. ‡ Dis. Mss. xiii. p. 2. § Dis. Mss. xlix. p. 8.

(1680), Steel of Skellyhill, who was shot dead at his own door before the eyes of his beloved wife, who had her infant and only child in her arms."*

There were cases, indeed, in which the people went beyond their ministers in zeal for the cause. Mr. Thomson, of Wick, belonged to the Evangelical party in the Church, but as the crisis approached he felt considerable perplexity, and on returning from the Convocation he called his people together on the 28th November in order to explain, which he did at some length, why he had *not* seen it to be his duty to sign the resolutions. During his address, the congregation "sat looking at each other much astonished," and after the meeting had been dismissed, the people, on the motion of Mr. Davidson, banker, sat still, elected a chairman, and asked Mr. Thomson to remain and listen to the proceedings. They went on to express their views with much personal respect for their pastor, but in direct opposition to the sentiments of his address. "It was then proposed that solemn thanks should be offered up to God for the grace which had been vouchsafed to the 350 members of the Convocation who had bound themselves to go out, and this was done in a most impressive manner by Mr. Donald George."† At a second meeting held shortly after, they formally adopted the Convocation resolutions; and the result was, that Mr. Thomson saw it to be his duty to go along with his people, a resolution which was received with much satisfaction.

But what produced the deepest impression was the presence of the deputations sent forth to hold meetings and give addresses through all the parishes of Scotland. It was in the dead of winter that these movements took place, at a time when the short day left the population in country districts fully at leisure; and many a strange incident of that stirring time still lives in the memory of survivors.

The state of the weather sometimes made it difficult to carry on the work. At Moy, Dr. M'Lauchlan mentions that a meeting was called with the view of having the resolutions of the Convocation expounded by a deputation from head-quarters, consisting of Mr. Topp, of Elgin, Mr. Macrae, of Knockbain, and Mr.

* Dis. Mss. xxxi. pp. 5, 18. † *Witness* Newspaper, 7th Dec., 1842.

Stewart, of Cromarty. "The day, which was the 11th of January, was stormy, and although the people collected in great numbers, none of the deputies appeared, alarmed by the depth of the snow. I went in consequence to the pulpit myself, and explained the object of the meeting. . . . The resolutions were afterwards signed almost universally throughout the parish."*

So also at Kiltarlity, in Inverness-shire: "On Friday [8th January] the deputation went to Kiltarlity. From unavoidable circumstances the intimation was very imperfect, and the parish church [the minister being adverse] was inaccessible, yet a congregation of 700 met the deputation in the open air—snow on the ground—and had a rustic tent erected for their accommodation. After an address in both languages, 584 gave in their names, and as half the parish had not heard of the visit, as many more names at least are expected. The meeting was concluded by prayer by the Catechist, an aged patriarch, the Christian father of the parish. He was so feeble that he had to be literally supported, like Moses of old by Aaron and Hur, while standing at prayer."†

Dr. Macdonald's visit to the Presbytery of Dornoch was enthusiastically welcomed. "Nothing could be more triumphant than the worthy Doctor's defence of the truths for which the Church is contending, and nothing more withering than his *exposé* of Moderate principles. The crowds which assembled were immense. . . . It showed the depth of feeling with which the Highlanders view the present contest, and no doubt also their veneration for the 'Apostle of the North,' . . . when crowds assembled to open up the roads which were blocked with snow, and when the horse could not carry through his gig, the Highlanders carried him and his gig over all impediments. Their answer was, when anything in the way of remuneration was offered, . . . O sir, when you come to preach to us and tell us of our Church which our fathers loved, the danger she is in, and that she looks to us for defence, oh, let it not be said that we would not do what we could."‡

While this was going on, various efforts were made by

* Dis. Mss. xlix. p. 8. † *Witness* Newspaper, 11th January, 1843.
‡ *Ibid.* 29th March, 1843.

opponents to counteract the movement. Sometimes they had recourse to the circulation of pamphlets.

"Sir James Graham's letter [to be afterwards noticed] was widely circulated in the North, but with little impression. One Highlander remarked, We see a great deal about the law in this letter, but very little of the Gospel. As Mr. Mackintosh, of Tain, and Mr. Matheson, of Kilmuir, were going through the Presbytery of Tongue, the letter was drifting along before them, . . . thick as the winter snow; but the Gospel . . . had a hold of the hearts of the people which all law could not subvert. One man, in obedience to his master's instructions, had been seen running at a great rate distributing copies. As he went along, his neighbour accosted him. . . . O Donald, what is all this haste for? O sir, replied Donald, I am in a great hurry, for I am very anxious to be back in time to hear Mr. Mackintosh, and sign for the Church."

Sometimes they applied to the sheriffs for interdicts. At Aberdeen the use of the city churches was interdicted,* but others, of course, were obtained, and crowded enthusiastic meetings of each congregation were held. The whole ministers, without one exception, adhered to the Convocation resolutions, and their feelings were rendered all the more decided because of the interdicts.

"At Largs,† in Ayrshire, a meeting was about to be held on a requisition by the people, when a small laird, whose property was rated at one shilling and ninepence of yearly stipend, obtained an interdict, shutting the parish church. The result was a triumphant and successful meeting in the Relief church, filled to overflowing by a most enthusiastic audience. Mr. Scott, of Hawkhill, one of the principal heritors, was in the chair.

"At Smailholm, a meeting had been called for Monday, the 6th of March, in the barn of Mr. Dickson, of West Third. On the Sabbath afternoon, however, Mr. Dickson's landlord, Geo. Baillie, Esq. of Jerviswood, sent him a message to the effect that the barn was not to be given to the deputation, and that Mr. B. would not allow a meeting such as that proposed to be

* *Witness* Newspaper, 18th Jan., 1843. † *Ibid.* 15th Feb. 1843.

held on the premises of which he was the proprietor. This announcement caused great excitement in the village, and as Mr. Dickson was a yearly tenant, the people resolved that rather than expose him to the risk of losing his farm, another place should be sought for, failing which, they would willingly stand in the open air. . . . At length, within four hours of the time of meeting, a carpenter's shop was obtained about a mile west of the village. The place was filled to overflowing, the opposition of Mr. Baillie having brought out many who might otherwise have been absent. . . . Planks had been laid across the couples of the roof, so that about a hundred individuals sat overhead listening to the speakers although they could not see them. About two-thirds of the audience were obliged to stand the two hours and a-half the meeting lasted, but not the least symptom of impatience was manifested, every one appearing to be more interested than another." *

A similar interference was met with in the parish of Symington. Mr. Orr, assistant and successor, had experienced the hostility of the proprietors after the Convocation. "At the first meeting of the heritors, which took place about six weeks afterwards, and at which I was present, Lieut.-Col. Kelso, of Dankeith, a retired Indian officer and the principal proprietor of the parish, asked me if it was true that I had signed the resolutions of that Convocation, and when I answered in the affirmative, he said that he would cease to contribute further a single shilling of my salary. At this time my salary was paid chiefly by the minister, and partly by the voluntary assessment on the part of the heritors; and those of them who were present seemed to acquiesce in the threat of the Colonel, as they said nothing to the contrary. At that meeting I said nothing further than that if they deemed me unworthy of their support, I did not desire it, and that though they withdrew every shilling of what they had hitherto contributed, it would not move me a single hair's-breadth from the path of duty, and from the obedience I owed to the great Head of the Church. . . .

"The deputation appointed to visit Symington consisted of the Rev. Dr. Paterson, of St. Andrew's Church, Glasgow, and

* *Witness*, 18th March, 1843.

the Rev. Mr. Buchan, of Hamilton. I accordingly intimated from the pulpit, on a Sabbath in January, that these ministers were about to visit the parish, and appointed a meeting to be held in the church on the Wednesday evening following, and asked the people to come.

"And well did they respond to the call, for nearly the whole congregation assembled . . . on a dark night in the month of January, so interested were they in the subject. But, alas, when the hour arrived, they were denied admission to the church, for on the very day after the meeting was intimated from the pulpit, Colonel Kelso went to the Sheriff at Ayr and obtained an interdict against the meeting being held, on the ground that there would likely be a disturbance in the church, and the seats might be damaged and destroyed. A short time before the hour of meeting, when sitting at tea with the deputation, three sheriff-officers entered the room, and put into each of our hands a copy of the interdict which the Colonel had obtained. Of such a thing I had never once dreamed, and was so taken aback that for a time I could not speak a word, and sat perfectly dumb. And well do I recollect the venerable Dr. Paterson clapping me on the shoulder and saying, 'Cheer up, man, there are worse things in the world than an interdict. You may soon find that it has done you a great deal of good.' And I believe it did, for the people were so irritated at the way they had been treated, that they became more resolute in adhering to what they believed to be the cause of righteousness and truth.

"In the meantime, what was now to be done? The people were all assembled in the street, and could not be addressed there in the dark winter night. It was decided to invite them down to my house. . . . This was accordingly done. Every room was filled, all the doors thrown open, and the ministers stood on chairs in the lobby and addressed the people, who all heard distinctly. It was a most enthusiastic meeting, and the Colonel was rather roughly handled by the speakers for the way he had acted towards the congregation of which he himself was an office-bearer."*

There were cases in which, instead of interdicts, opposition

* Dis. Mss. xlviii. pp. 4-8.

came in a different form, leading sometimes to rather remarkable scenes. "At Torosay," Mr. Middleton states, "I remember when two esteemed clergymen, the Rev. P. Macbride, Rothesay, and the Rev. Finlay Macpherson, of Kilbrandon, were on a tour in April, 1843, explaining the state of Church affairs, while preaching to a congregation of from 300 to 400, at the Bridge of Loch-don-head, that Mr. —— hurriedly rode up to the spot where the service was going on, said that he was the son of one of the heritors, that he had a deep interest in the welfare of the people, that he had a high esteem for the parish minister, and that he warned the people against those who were now going among them to seduce and draw them from the Church of their fathers, or words to that effect; and he concluded by taking off his hat and calling for three cheers for Mr. Clark, the parish minister. The officiating clergyman took no notice of this strange proceeding, and very little heed was given to it by the people in the way of response, though it created a great sensation in the audience. Only one man took off his hat—the schoolmaster—and even he, as if ashamed, replaced it immediately upon his head." *

. Mr. Wood, of Elie, describes his visit to the southern districts of Dumfriesshire:—

"In the winter of 1842-43, the Disruption being now considered inevitable, deputations were sent out, under the auspices of the Convocation which had met in Edinburgh, to different parts of the country. Among others, Mr. Jollie, of Bowden, and I were commissioned to visit Dumfriesshire. Having stayed all the previous night at Bowden Manse, I started with Mr. Jollie on Monday, the 30th January. We travelled in my gig, by a road the remarkable scenery of which is little seen now-a-days, dining at Mosspaul, and arriving at Langholm about 9 P.M. Next afternoon we were joined by Mr. Clarke, of Half Morton, who was one of the deputation, and who had the charge of the local arrangements. That evening we held our first meeting in the Secession Meeting House—U. P. was a title yet unknown, nor did the Seceders at that time call their places of worship churches. Our meeting was most successful, crowded to the

* Dis. Mss. ix. pp. 2, 3.

very doors. One incident which occurred has fixed itself in my memory, and deserves to be recorded. I was, I think, the last speaker, and after dwelling on the encroachments made by the Court of Session, confirmed by the final judgment of the House of Lords, and on the manner in which we had been treated in Parliament, where the voice of the Scottish Members had been altogether overborne by the English majority, I said, on the spur of the moment, that such injustice was enough to justify Scotland in demanding the repeal of the Union. With that, to my surprise, and somewhat to my consternation, the meeting rose as one man, waving hats and handkerchiefs, and cheering again and again. No doubt the enthusiastic feelings of the people assisted our object, but I took care not to speak of repeal of the Union at our subsequent meetings.

"Next day we drove out to Eskdalemuir, a sort of colony of Cameronians, where we had a very good meeting in the Cameronian place of worship. We stayed all night with Mr. Walter Laidlaw, and in the morning visited Hislop's grave, which is close by. Then we started for Ewes in a snow-storm, resting at Westerkirk on the way. At Ewes we held a meeting in a barn belonging to Mr. Comyn, with whom we stayed all night. The day after we went to Half Morton, and held meetings at Waterbeck and Gretna, and on Saturday at Half Morton itself, where I preached on Sunday, 5th February, from Zeph. i. 12. On Monday I drove Mr. Clarke from Half Morton to Lockerby, where we had an excellent meeting in the evening. Next day we started for Dinwiddie, in the parish of Applegarth. Mr. Jollie and I were in the gig, and Mr. Clarke was riding in advance of us, evidently rehearsing a speech to himself, and amusing us now and then by the involuntary action which accompanied his mental labours. The day was intensely cold, and the 'roaring game,' so keenly engaged in during winter in Dumfriesshire, was in full play on every pool and lakelet. As we drew near the place of our destination, groups of curlers were overtaken on the road carrying their stones and brooms. 'Depend upon it,' said I, 'they have got up a bonspiel on the ice to engage the people, and prevent them from coming to our meeting.' The case, however, turned out to be far otherwise.

The Rev. Dr. Dunbar, minister of Applegarth, indignant that his parish, hitherto as thoroughly under Moderate rule as any in Scotland, should be invaded by a band of uncommissioned agitators, sent intimation through the parish that all must attend the meeting—that he would himself be present, and would soon scatter it. Nay, so great was the interest which he took in the matter, that he had that morning gone down to the ice, and brought up a whole band of curlers, telling them that there was more important work on hand.

"This we learned on our arrival at Dinwiddie, and found that the crowds we had seen trooping along the road bearing their curling implements, were not going to the ice, as we had supposed, but were coming *from* it, many of them sorely grudging the loss of a day's play. The barn, one of the largest in the country, was crowded to the doors; ladders, couples, the top of the thrashing machine, all were thronged, and a meeting had been got together for us by our opponents far larger than we had ever expected to see in so remote a part of the country. Mr. Jollie having opened the meeting with prayer, Dr. Dunbar rose and said that he and his parishioners had come to hear what the deputation had to say. Mr. Clarke addressed the meeting at some length, and at the close of his speech made some allusion to the reply he expected from Dr. Dunbar. That gentleman, however, declared that before he opened his mouth he wished to hear all that the deputation had to say. Of course, no objection could be made to this, and I went on with my address, stating however at the outset, that I intended to take the opportunity of replying to any remarks which Dr. Dunbar might make, and that we (the deputation) would shorten our addresses in order that full time might be given to him. Accordingly, when I had concluded, Mr. Jollie declined to make any remarks. Dr. Dunbar then rose, and after a speech, in which he never even attempted to reply to the arguments which had been adduced, proposed a resolution to the effect, that the meeting disapprove of the conduct of the deputation in intruding into other parishes; 'and those' added the Doctor, 'who think with me have, of course, no longer any business here.' Considerable excitement was occasioned by this proposition; half uttered

murmurings of 'shame' and 'unmanly' were heard, in the midst of which a farmer of the parish seconded the resolution. Dr. Dunbar then called for a show of hands, but to this I stoutly objected until the reply which I had risen to make should have been heard. 'Then, my friends,' said Dr. Dunbar, 'you have no longer anything to do here.' 'We shall be sorry,' was our reply, 'if Dr. Dunbar leaves us, but if a vote is to be taken, this can only be done after a reply has been made, according to the arrangement proposed at the outset.' Dr. Dunbar, however, was not to be detained, and left the place, accompanied, however, only by eleven persons. Some few more left the barn along with him, but returned as soon as he was well out of sight. Mr. Clarke and I then replied at length, pointing out the gross Erastianism of Dr. Dunbar's statement, and at the close of the proceedings, the people crowded round us, expressing their regret that we could not remain with them an hour or two longer. This, however, was impossible, as we had to address a meeting at Wamphray in the evening. The moral effect of this meeting was very great over a large district of country. That a man whose character was so thoroughly respected, should have been defeated in his own parish by three strangers showed plainly the direction in which public feeling was tending.

"'The battle of Dinwiddie,' as it was called, became a fertile theme for ballads, articles, and correspondence in the local papers. I am sorry that I have not preserved any of them, of which many were sent to me by friends in Dumfriesshire, during the months which followed my return home." *

Yet another of these meetings may be noticed, and one in which the opponents were successful. The account has been thrown by the reporter into a form somewhat grotesque, but in regard to the facts themselves it is certified as correct.

"On Thursday evening, January 19, agreeably to a previous intimation by handbill, a large number of the parishioners of Fintray [Aberdeenshire], assembled at Mr. Geo. Knight's, Cothill, for the purpose of hearing addresses from the Rev. Mr. Macdonald, of Blairgowrie, and other ministers, on the subject of the position and prospects of the Church. Now in this parish there resides a

* Dis. Mss. I. pp. 18-21.

Mr. Strachan, who is Sir John Forbes' factor. He commanded the people to go home. As factor he did this, of course. The people refused, and stayed till the ministers came. As the ministers were approaching, they were met at a little distance from the premises where the meeting was to be held by Mr. Strachan and one or two of his friends, whose object it was, now that the meeting could not be prevented by dispersing the audience, to prevent it by sending the ministers away. They first coaxed, which was proper, and then threatened, which was natural, but the ministers did not go back, but went in. They found between two and three hundred individuals waiting to hear them. But hear them they could not. Mr. Strachan, with a large thick stick in his hand, ascended the platform, and began to use all the means he had of making a noise—*i.e.*, to bawl at the pitch of his voice, and strike with his stick as hard as he could. What between the articulate noise from his own head and the inarticulate noise from the head of his stick—the difference between the two being that his head cried, Oh, oh, and the head of his stick cried, Whack, whack—it was impossible for any other voice to be heard than his and his stick's. Three of the members of the deputation went upon the platform and attempted to obtain a hearing, but upon this Mr. Strachan and his stick called in the powerful assistance of Mr. James Crombie, manufacturer, and his stick (if he had one), who is a relative to the family of the minister of the parish (Mr. Crombie, we mean, not his stick), and six other individuals and their sticks, and thus noise was produced sufficient to deafen any voice. An offer was made on the part of the deputation to hear all the men of the party, and we suppose we may say also all the sticks of the party, in regular succession—first, a man and then a stick, then another man and then another stick, till they had all delivered their opinion, upon condition that the members of the deputation should then be heard in turn, and that no man and no stick should interrupt them. This condition the men and the sticks unanimously refused to agree to, and then the men bellowed more beautifully and the sticks beat louder than ever. By this time it was apparent to the members of the deputation that if they remained longer serious consequences were inevitable, owing

to the now excited feelings of many of the parishioners, and therefore the meeting broke up. Mr. Moir and Capt. Shepherd retired into Mr. Knight's dwelling-house, and Messrs. Macdonald and Spence remaining without, and waiting for the chance of an opportunity to address the people. This they partially obtained." *

Even in that district, however, there was one whose appearance made its way to men's hearts amidst all the excitement and hostility which prevailed. Mr. M'Cheyne "accompanied Mr. Alexander, of Kirkcaldy, to visit the districts of Deer and Ellon, districts over which he yearned, for Moderatism had held undisputed sway over them for generations." It was no easy work. During the space of three weeks, he preached and spoke at meetings in four-and-twenty places, sometimes more than once in the same place. On 14th February, he writes: "The weather has been delightful till now, to-day the snow is beginning to drift." On the 24th, he says: "To-day is the first we have rested since leaving home, so that I am almost overcome with fatigue." One who tracked his footsteps a month after his death states that "sympathy with the principles of our suffering Church was awakened in many places; but, above all, a thirst was excited for the pure Word of Life. His eminently holy walk and conversation . . . were specially felt. . . . In one place where a meeting had been intimated the people assembled, resolving to cast stones at him as soon as he should begin to speak, but no sooner had he begun than his manner, his look, his words riveted them all, and they listened with intense earnestness, and before he left the place the people gathered round him, entreating him to stay and preach to them. One man who had cast mud at him was afterwards moved to tears on hearing of his death." †

Such incidents taking place in districts so widely separated

* *Witness*, 25th January, 1843. Dr. Spence, of Aberdeen, states: "The scene described is one of which I have a most vivid recollection, and is literally true, though described in a burlesque style. . . . Unfortunately, I was the only one of the party who had a white neckcloth, . . . and they directed their fury mainly against me."—*In. lit.* 22*nd Nov.*, 1875.

† Memoir, p. 167.

may give some idea of what was going on all over Scotland, but only those who lived through that time can understand the agitation which shook all classes of society, and the struggles and difficulties in the midst of which the cause of the Church had to be maintained.

## VII. Close of the Struggle.

It was while men were thus engaged that the answer to the claims of the Church, by the Government and the House of Commons, at last came, and gave a new impulse and direction to the movement. On the 4th of January, Sir James Graham transmitted his celebrated letter, in which the Crown, through its advisers, formally rejected the appeal of the Church, and intimated that Patronage must be maintained in its stringency. The letter was found to contain obvious misrepresentations, such as the allegation that the Claim of the Church was identical with the claims of Popery. It was mortifying to find Government having recourse to such special pleading; but whatever might be thought on this and other points, the hostility of at least one branch of the Legislature was now decisively declared. All that remained was to appeal to Parliament. An extraordinary meeting of the Commission was called for the 31st of January, when it was resolved to petition the House of Commons, and make one final attempt, even at the eleventh hour, to arrest the catastrophe. Mr. Fox Maule having, accordingly, presented this petition, proceeded, on the 7th of March, to move the House for a committee to examine and report on the grievances complained of. With singular ability Mr. Maule and others who followed pled the cause, Mr. Rutherfurd especially signalising the occasion by a masterly argument founded on the laws and constitution of Scotland. With no less singular unanimity did Sir R. Peel, Sir J. Graham, and other opponents evade all these grounds of fact and argument, taking refuge in vague generalities and preconceived opinions.* But the vote was decisive. By a majority of 211 against 76 the Claim of the Church was thrown out, the House

* This seems to have struck impartial observers, even when they did not agree with the Church. The distinguished naturalist, Dr. Johnston, of

refusing even to go through the form of an inquiry. "It is not undeserving of notice that of the 37 Scotch Members who were present at the division, 25 voted for Mr. Maule. It was not simply, therefore, the voice of Scotland's Church, but the voice of her national representatives that was that night overborne in the British Parliament. The fact is one which an impartial posterity will mark and remember." *

Had the statesmen of that day known what they were doing, probably some *via media* would have been at least attempted, some temporising expedient to hold parties together, as in subsequent decisions connected with the Church of England. But statesmen in authority had not yet been scared by the effect of their own work in dealing with these Church questions. In 1843, they were told that a little firmness was all that was required. It was only the clergy of Scotland who had to be dealt with, and if the great Tory and Whig parties would combine to bring down all the weight of imperial authority, then, though a few of the leaders of the Church—firebrands they were called—might go out, yet the Evangelical party, as a whole, would succumb. All difficulty would be cleared away, and the great question would be settled.

Beyond all doubt, IT WAS SETTLED. On that memorable 7th of March, earnest eyes from all parts of Scotland had been turned towards the House of Commons. "An eventful night, Mr. M'Cheyne wrote, this in the British Parliament. Once more King Jesus stands at an earthly tribunal, and they know Him not." It was even so. Worldly politicians did their work,

Berwick-on-Tweed, one of the most amiable of men, writes to Dr. Landsborough, of Stevenston: "I have read the discussion in the House of Commons on your kirk question, and the result pained me. You have never since been out of my mind, nor can I dissever your name from Stevenston Manse, though I fear you will be cruel enough to separate from it bodily. I will say nothing, but surely you will allow me to weep at such a stern resolve. . . . So far as I can judge, the speech of Mr. Rutherfurd was never answered, and the arguments of Sir James Graham and Sir Robert Peel were rather of what would be expedient were a new law to be made than a reply to the law of the Church, as established by several solemn Acts."—Memoir of Dr. Landsborough, p. 182.

* Ten Years' Conflict, vol. ii. p. 427.

intelligence was sent forth over Scotland that the final blow had been struck, and it may be interesting to note one or two examples showing how the news was received, not only in cities but in quiet, rural parishes.

Dr. Landsborough, of Stevenston, thus refers to his service on the succeeding Sabbath: "12th March, 1843.—In the afternoon my discourse was intentionally suited to the peculiar circumstances in which we were placed after the news had come that Parliament had resolved to give us no relief, and that, consequently, we must leave our churches and homes. Oh, may grace be given to us to glorify God in the fires! May the affliction be sanctified to us, to wean us more from the world, and to fit us more for heaven; and do Thou, O God, overrule the trying dispensation for Thine own glory, and for the good of Thy Church and people."*

In the case of Dr. Mackintosh, of Dunoon, then of Tain, we get almost a photograph of one of those who, in their far-off quiet manses, were intently watching the result. "A son of one of his elders, who was but a little boy in that eventful year, and could understand little of what was about to occur, has given us a graphic account of the effect produced on his youthful mind by the minister's demeanour on the morning when tidings came. . . . One morning in the spring of 1843 I jumped early out of bed, for my head was full of marbles and pegtops, and a dozen or so of games before breakfast has its attractions for a schoolboy. To my astonishment, I found my father down before me—nay, he had evidently been there for some time, for the moment I appeared he folded up the newspaper on which he had been so unseasonably engaged, and with a break in his voice, indicating an emotion that was quite unaccountable to me, he asked me to take it at once to the manse, with his compliments to the minister. My visit was shorter than I anticipated, for I had scarcely got out of the sunshine into the manse evergreens when I found the minister in the porch, and when I offered him the newspaper he showed me that he had already got the *Times* by some unusual express, and as he spoke, he patted my head and smiled; but such a

* Memoir, p. 175.

smile! so full of radiant kindness. I was confounded, and as I went back between the hedges, the birds sang unheeded while I thought what could have come over the minister. Had anybody left him a fortune? or had he met one of the Shining Ones walking among the hollies in that early dawn? And it was not for some weeks that I found out that this was what had happened—the newspaper that morning had brought him the vote of the House of Commons finally refusing an inquiry into the affairs of the Scottish Church, and so making it certain that within a few weeks he would leave for ever the home, at the door of which I saw him, in which his father had dwelt before him, and which he now would have to leave without stipend, and not knowing what was before him. Of course, he came out."*

The feeling of gladness thus expressed it was not difficult to understand. Men were thankful that the path of duty had at last been made so plain. The fear had been that Government, as Dr. Guthrie says, "would bring in a Bill which, if it won't please us, will be made so as if possible to entrap us." It was the only danger which threatened to separate between brethren, and so make shipwreck of the cause. The refusal of Parliament even to go through the form of an inquiry put an end to all such anxiety. It was an unspeakable relief to be delivered from all harassing suspense, and to find that God had in His goodness made the way so plain, that he who ran might read. All that remained was to make ready.

While this was going on, it must not be supposed that the Moderate party, on their side, were idle. In 1841 they had already gone to Government and asked them definitely to make their choice as to whether they or their opponents were to be the Church of the nation. They knew that they were themselves safe in making this conclusive appeal to Government, and their application, therefore, was merely a request for the expulsion of Dr. Chalmers and his friends. The Government, however, declined to move.

At last the Stewarton decision, casting out the *quoad sacra* ministers, put a weapon into eager hands which was at once

* Memoir, p. 56.

used, not only to hasten, but to antedate the Disruption. Without waiting till the decree became final—for the question of appeal was pending when Dr. Cook, at the Commission, gave the signal—they proceeded to break up Presbyteries and Synods. At the first meeting of the Presbytery of Irvine, for example, they moved the expulsion of the *quoad sacra* ministers; and when the vote went against them, they rose in a body, left the Court, with Dr. Norman Macleod at their head, held a separate meeting, and constituted a rival Presbytery. Dr. Bryce, their historian, admits, rather boastfully, that this was in "thorough contempt of all ecclesiastical authority." In Moderate Presbyteries and Synods, where the vote went the other way, the Evangelical party refused to abandon their brethren, and had in self-defence to take a similar course. Already in her essential Courts the Church was broken up; but it should be noticed that it was the Moderate party—the men who ultimately formed the Establishment—who took the initiative, and Dr. Bryce is anxious that the glory of the first step should be reserved for those to whom it is due, the Presbytery of Fordyce.

These parting scenes, when men went asunder never again to reunite, were often striking, and in some cases painful.

At Linlithgow, when Dr. Bell moved the expulsion of his *quoad sacra* brethren, "It was mine," says Mr. Taylor, of Grangemouth, "to reply; and although I rose with a faltering tongue, this being my first endeavour to express my views in a Church Court, I was yet enabled to speak in defence of my position to the approbation of my brethren. I challenged Dr. Bell to discuss the question as a Doctor of Divinity, and not to skulk behind the decision of a Law Court. With the ecclesiastical functions of a minister the Law Courts had nothing to do, either constitutionally or scripturally. The Church, upon scriptural and presbyterian grounds, had given me my standing as a member of Court, and upon these grounds I was prepared to maintain my position."* For an onlooker it must have been interesting to observe the silence with which this challenge was received, and the way in which the motion was allowed to drop.

* Dis. Mss. xxxvii. p. 3.

At Glasgow, when Principal Macfarlan moved the expulsion of his *quoad sacra* brethren, Mr. Arnot demanded that, if this were done, they should come to St. Peter's and remove one-half of the ordination vow which they had laid on him when he was taken bound to exercise discipline in his congregation through means of his kirk-session. It must have been a remarkable thing to observe the way in which this demand was ignored.

In the Synod of Dumfries the proposal of the Moderate party was carried by vote, and only they who knew the personal attachment of the two brothers here referred to can understand the scene :—"Previous to the great Disruption, Synods felt the shock. Hot words had passed in that of Dumfries, and those who ultimately became Free Churchmen arose and left the Synod. Dr. Duncan sat still, with his face covered, till the bustle of departure was over; then rose and took leave of his old associates with the meekness of wisdom which belonged to him. His poor, dear brother, still minister of the New Church [Established], Dumfries, who had never in life before parted from him, laid his head on the table and sobbed aloud, and many were moved." *

* Dis. Mss. xvi. p. 4.

## VIII. Making Ready.

Meantime the loud note of preparation was being sounded over the land. From the 7th of March till the 18th of May the weeks were few enough for 474 ministers, and a still larger number of congregations, to get ready. But not a moment was lost. A committee of the most distinguished ministers, and not a few of Scotland's ablest laymen, met daily at headquarters. Plans were matured, agents commissioned to organise the parishes, and a series of weekly "communications" sent out, and so eagerly welcomed, that an impression of 150,000 copies sometimes failed to meet the demand. As we look back on the movements of that stirring time, there is one whose well-remembered form is seen for ever coming to the front. It was the voice of Dr. Chalmers, which was heard all over Scotland, rousing the country; and it was the impetuous energy which he threw into every department that carried all before it. In these efforts he was looking far beyond a mere provision for himself and his outgoing brethren to a still nobler object, now fully in view. At last, after long waiting, the prospect had fairly dawned of Church extension in a form far different from what he had expected. "I knocked at the door of a Whig Ministry, and they refused to endow. I then knocked at the door of a Tory Ministry. They perhaps would have endowed, but they offered to enslave. I now, therefore, turn aside from both, and knock at the door of the general population." Here at last was the prospect of realising what had been the lifelong, eager desire of his heart; and with indomitable ardour he gathered up his strength for the great achievement. "Dr. Chalmers," says Dr. Guthrie, "has a kind of desperate joy in the prospect of an overthrow, in the idea that some four or five hundred churches would be built."

One of the speeches which he delivered deserves special notice, on account of two watchwords then given forth, the effects of which it would be difficult to over-estimate.

The first was a demand for "a penny a-week." A penny a-week from every family in Scotland, he announced, would serve to equip the Church, and provide ordinances over the land. Men were startled. Were we to have a Free Church, delivered from all these conflicts and trammels, with such men as Chalmers, and Candlish, and Gordon at its head, and was the sacrifice to be no more than this? But how could such a thing be? "People say," he exclaimed, "A penny a-week! that is utterly insignificant to the wants of the Church. How can you possibly transmute a penny a-week into the basis of the support of a Church which has for its object the Christian instruction of one and all the families of the land? Is it possible that a penny a-week can work such a marvel? Just as possible as that the successive strokes of the chisel should raise the pyramids of Egypt." And then followed the calculation on which this was founded.

The second watchword was more important still: Organise—organise—organise! "The time for argument is now over; the time for action has come. We have entered on a new era of deeds, which has followed the era of speeches. . . . O'Connell gave forth his watchword: Agitate—agitate—agitate! . . . Sir Robert Peel gave forth his watchword: Register—register—register! . . . Scotland seeks the Christian freedom of her Church, and the Christian good of her people; and to make out this let *her* watchword be: Organise—organise—organise! . . . We confess our main dependence to be on the prayers of the Christian people of the land, but we also know that prayer does not supersede either efforts or wisdom. Therefore I repeat, Organise—organise—organise! and without the objects of the demagogue on the one hand, or the statesman on the other, let us not cease our endeavours till, by the blessing of God, the country in which we live becomes a sacred land of light and liberty—a portion of that greatest and best of empires, the empire of truth and righteousness."

The cry thus raised was in reality a call for the forming of

local associations, in which parishes might combine for raising funds, preparing temporary accommodation, and arranging permanently for the future. Church Defence Associations had been formed at an earlier period, but Free Church Associations had now to take their place, and very cordial was the response given to this appeal. Already, on March 15th, the Church Defence Association at Woodside, Aberdeen, as Mr. Forbes states, was dissolved, for two reasons—viz., 1*st*, Because the attempt which had been made to defend the Church from the encroachments of the civil power had failed; and 2*ndly*, "Because the Church as established by law, as its constitution was interpreted by the civil powers, *was not worth defending*. The spiritual province was invaded, the Headship of Christ denied, and the people trampled on and enslaved." Accordingly, "on Wednesday, the 15th March, a meeting was held, at which an association was formed for the support of a Free Presbyterian Church in Scotland."* Similar movements were common over the country. By the 19th of April 405 associations had been reported, and at the meeting of the Assembly the number had risen to 687. One of the earliest to respond to the appeal of Dr. Chalmers was Mr. M'Cheyne, of Dundee. "We are proposing," he wrote on the 7th of March, "to organise for the support of a Free Presbyterian Church." He asked the aid of Mr. Makgill Crichton at a meeting to be held on the following Tuesday. "All the accommodation of my humble dwelling is, of course, at your service." The meeting was held, and the association formed. Mr. M'Cheyne was heard "pleading fervently the cause of the Free Presbyterian Church." It was his last service—his work was done, he went home and lay down to die; and there were many in Scotland whose attachment to the cause of the Free Church was all the deeper from the fact that his latest public testimony was borne so earnestly on its behalf.

And now, as the day approached, the question began to be everywhere keenly debated—how many ministers would really go out? Nothing in all this history was more remarkable than the utter incredulity of opponents as to any large number

* Dis. Mss. xxvii. p. 3.

standing true to their word. There was, perhaps, an excuse for some measure of doubt, owing to the signs of faltering which had appeared in certain quarters. In May, 1842, an unfortunate attempt had been made to break up the Evangelical party by a band of waverers, who came forward in the Synod of Glasgow, saying, We are *forty;* a movement really insignificant, but which made it more easy for politicians and others to believe what they wished to believe. Even after the Convocation, there were some proceedings which might well have strengthened the impression, and of these we give one example—the account of a meeting of Presbytery at Linlithgow, as described by Mr. Taylor.

"Our Presbytery of Linlithgow, at its meeting (March), secured for itself the inglorious pre-eminence of being the first Presbytery in the Church to flinch in the prospect of danger, to reverse its majority, and thus to lead in the unprincipled retreat. Our little Presbytery room was crowded, there being a large muster of members and a goodly company of onlookers. . . . The great question was introduced by Mr.——of ——, who moved an overture to the General Assembly for the repeal of the Veto Act. He had hitherto been a very forward supporter of reformation measures, and had advocated the overtures for giving efficacy to the call. At all public meetings in Edinburgh for Church-reform he was present. But recent events had altered his views. His speech was carefully prepared. It was written out and laid before him, and was delivered with that forced and vehement oratory which showed that the chief opponent with whom he had to contend was the conviction of his own heart. He has, since the Disruption, got the reward of his unfaithfulness, in being preferred to the desirable parish of ——. Mr. Laing, of Livingstone, replied, and replied effectively. But the most effective speech was Mr. Martin's, of Bathgate, wherein, before the vote was taken, he reviewed the debate and the argument, and the altered position of the speakers. It was more than eloquent; but vain is every appeal to men bent on following not what their convictions but what their interests suggest.* I

* Mr. Martin, in a letter written at the time, himself refers to the part he took in this discussion. "The burden of the debate . . . fell on me. As I expected it would be so, I let them all speak before I rose; but,

remember distinctly, as if it were yesterday, the humbled appearance of the brethren who now openly disavowed their former principles. Mr. ——, of ——, sat silent, but voted right against his former party. Mr. ——, of ——, betrayed his folly by attempting an explanation. Poor Mr. ——, of ——, hung down his head, as if in agony of spirit, and refused to give a vote. Mr. ——, of ——, who in a fit of extreme haste had written Sir Robert Peel to say that if a right settlement were not soon given to the principles for which the Church was contending, he must resign his connection with it, and who got for answer that so soon as he resigned, Government would be prepared to present a successor to him; had a printed paper, which he circulated among the members, wherein he attempted to justify his remaining in the Church from the example of great men in former days. Mr. ——, of ——, said that much as he valued the Veto, he was not prepared to peril the Church's endowments for it. Mr. ——, of ——, a sort of Presbyterian Puseyite, though a good man, contended for his own favourite dogma, which was, that all the affairs of the Church were managed absolutely by the [Church] rulers, and that the only duty devolving on Church members was that of entire submission. Mr. ——, of ——, whom, as my copresbyter, I chiefly regretted leaving the Establishment, fell the victim of his own timidity and irresolution, and urged it as a reason for repealing the Veto, that we were only putting ourselves in a favourable position for getting Government's sanction to some other preferable measure.* By

truly, as man after man renounced his principles, amid many shameful pretences of maintaining them, it was not indignation I felt, but sorrow; and I never rose to speak, I believe, sadder or sicker at heart. I spoke long, and demolished, I think, every vestige of argument, . . . yet did not use an angry or bitter word. I do confess it was difficult to keep off."—Life, p. 114.

* This was a vain idea, because the cases of intrusion—Mr. Young's, at Auchterarder, and the others—would have had to be carried out in the meantime by a series of forced settlements. In such things the Church could take no part. Besides, Lord Aberdeen's Act was all that men in authority were prepared to give—an Act which, by common consent, had to be thrown aside as an intolerable burden. It was only the existence of the Free Church which ultimately forced those in authority to go further.

a majority of votes was the overture carried, and by this *black act* was the first note of faint-heartedness and treachery sounded within the ranks of the Church." *

But not in Church Courts only were such things going on. All over the country private efforts were being made to work on men's selfish hopes and fears, no agents being more zealous than those who had themselves deserted their colours. For honourable men one of the heaviest trials of that time was the breaking down and failure of former friends, whose principles had not been able to withstand the pressure.

When the day drew near, accordingly, estimates were being formed among all ranks of society as to the number of those who would go out; and, probably, men put their estimates at a higher or lower figure in proportion as their own sense of the importance of the principles at stake was high or low.

It is strange to observe how incapable the Moderate party as a whole were of estimating the position of affairs. In a manifesto, issued on the 1st of March, 1843, and signed by Principal M'Farlan, they assured the Government that they looked without apprehension to the threatened Disruption of the Church. "Its office-bearers may in SOME instances be changed, and a FEW of its lay members be withdrawn FOR A TIME, but the tempest will soon pass over."

Dr. Cumming, of London, who has had much experience in prognosticating future events, was very confident in this case. "I venture, on pretty accurate information, to assert that less than one hundred will cover the whole secession. . . . But I am not satisfied that any will secede." † He was certain that more than three-fourths, probably the whole of his brethren, would prove false to their pledges.

Even in Scotland, amid the preparation and bustle that was going on, many were equally in ignorance. Mr. Grant, of Ayr, states: "On my way to the General Assembly, one of the principal bankers in Ayr was in the railway carriage with me. The conversation naturally turned to the state of the Church. Turning to me, he offered to bet £5 that not forty would come

* Dis. Mss. xxxvii. p. 4.

† Quoted in Memoirs of Dr. Chalmers, vol. iv. p. 334.

out. I answered that I never betted, but that if he were to make his forty four hundred, and if I were to take it, his £5 would be mine in three days." *

In Edinburgh they were just as little aware of what was coming. "Mark my words," wrote one of the best-informed and most sagacious citizens of Edinburgh a day or two before the Disruption, "not forty of them will go out." †

With similar anticipations, the Marquis of Bute, as Royal Commissioner, arrived at Holyrood, and nothing shows more strikingly how little the best-informed politicians knew what they were doing than a fact which has been recorded by Mr. Dunlop. In the circle at the Palace, on the evening of the 17th, within a few hours of the Disruption, the calculation was that the number who would separate would be between twenty and thirty.‡ One circumstance, if they had only been aware of it, would have opened their eyes. Already the Evangelical party had been in conference, arranging for the final step, and that forenoon (the 17th) the Protest which Dr. Welsh was to lay on the table of the Assembly, renouncing the Establishment, had been signed by 400 ministers.§

Preparation, also, for a place of meeting had been completed at Tanfield, near Canonmills, one of the suburbs of Edinburgh. The hall there, after being built for other purposes, was occupied as a wareroom; and when visited by Mr. Dunlop in February the wide floor, with its piles of boxes, wore an "aspect of coldness and deadness." Hurriedly seated and fitted up, it now stood ready to give accommodation to fully 3000 people. On one side was a spacious platform, with its blue drapery in front, while on either hand, to right and left of the great area, the benches rose on a gentle slope. The roof was low, but, to the delight of all, the acoustics of the place were found to be perfect—speakers with even the weakest voice being heard with ease.

* Dis. Mss. xli. p. 2.

† Memoirs of Dr. Chalmers, vol. iv. p. 335.

‡ Memoir of Dr. Welsh, p. 103.

§ Including signatures to a paper of concurrence.

## IX. The Disruption.

At last the decisive day arrived—the 18th of May. Business in Edinburgh was for the most part suspended, and all along the streets there was general excitement, as if men felt themselves in presence of some great event. Already, at break of day, an eager crowd besieged the doors of St. Andrew's Church, where the Assembly was to meet; and no sooner were they opened than every inch of space available for the public was densely crowded.* There had been numerous arrivals from all parts of Scotland, and even from abroad. Dr. Stewart,—then of Erskine,—for example, who had been ordered for his health to the south of Europe, tells how he arrived just in time to take part in the proceedings: "I had to leave my family in London, and hurried down by mail-coach and rail to Edinburgh, to be present at the Disruption—arriving from Constantinople by uninterrupted travelling at four o'clock on the morning of that eventful day."†

The opening scene was at Holyrood, where, as usual, the Lord High Commissioner held his levee, while "the yearly gleam of royalty was flickering about the old grim turrets." Never had the reception-rooms of the Palace been more densely crowded, for those who were about to abandon the Establishment sought all the more to testify their abiding loyalty.

"Being a member for the last time," says Mr. Lewis, of

* Mr. Kerr, of H.M. Office of Works, who was placed in charge of the preparation of St. Andrew's Church, states: "On the evening of the 17th, when about to lock up the church for the night, we were informed that the door-keepers, who had duplicate keys, had been offered considerable sums of money to allow parties to occupy the pews all night. . . . Padlocks were put on the doors to prevent the duplicate keys being used." Next morning when the public were admitted they "were very orderly and quiet; and, indeed, so obliging, that ultimately the greater number stood up in the pews, and allowed the seat-boards to be filled by others standing on them."—Dis. Mss. lii.

† Parker Mss., Pres. of Greenock.

Dundee, "of the General Assembly of the Established Church in May, 1843, I was in Edinburgh on the appointed day, and attended the levee of Her Majesty's Commissioner, the Marquis of Bute, anxious to show our loyalty to Cæsar when about to give to Christ the things that belong to Christ. While crowding the ante-room, and waiting the opening of the door, the portrait of William III., oddly enough, gave way, and seemed about to fall, some one, as we tried to prop it up, exclaiming, 'There goes the Revolution Settlement!' * an incident which, a hundred years earlier, had been interpreted as one of evil omen and warning; but, like other omens, it came too late to be of much use." †

At the close of the levee, shortly after noon, the Commissioner entered his carriage; the procession, with its military escort, moved round by the Calton Hill, up the North Bridge, and on to the High Church, where sermon was preached by Dr. Welsh, the retiring Moderator, from the words: "Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind."

"The discourse," says Dr. James Hamilton, "was a production which, for wise and weighty casuistry, for keen analysis of motives, and fine discrimination of truth, and for felicity of historic illustrations, would have been a treat to such a congregation at a less eventful season. With the solemn consciousness that in the full persuasion of their own minds, they had decided in another hour to take a step in which character, and worldly comfort, and ministerial usefulness were all involved, each sentence came with a sanction which such sermons seldom carry." ‡

Service being over, men hurried along the streets and through the gathering crowds to St. Andrew's Church. Outside, the spacious street was an impressive spectacle, with its masses of eager spectators, while inside the Church the dense crowd, after long hours of suspense, were intently waiting for the issue.

"I was one of the first," says Dr. M'Lauchlan, "who made his way from the High Church, where Dr. Welsh preached, to

* "The voice was that of William Howison Craufurd, Esq. of Craufurdland, the representative of one of Scotland's oldest families, and an unflinching supporter of the Church of 1690." — Ten Years' Conflict, vol. ii. p. 434.

† Parker Mss., Pres. of Dundee.

‡ Farewell to Egypt, p. 7.

St. Andrew's Church, where the Assembly met. When I entered, the seats on the Evangelical side were almost all empty. On the Moderate side they were quite full, with Dr. Cook in front—the ministers from that side not having been at the sermon. I sat beside Dr. John Smyth, of Glasgow. The galleries were packed full, and soon the whole house was crowded. When silence followed the rush of members, as we waited for the Moderator and Commissioner, I turned to Dr. Smyth. His eyes were full of tears, and he remarked, 'This is too much.'" *

It was about half-past two o'clock, or rather later, when Dr. Welsh was seen to enter and take the chair. Soon after there was heard the measured tramp of the soldiery outside, and the swell of martial music, with the sounds of the Queen's Anthem, announcing the approach of the Commissioner, and almost immediately he appeared and took the Throne, the whole assembly rising to receive him. When Dr. Welsh presented himself to the house all the hesitancy which often marked his speaking had left him. "He was firm and collected," writes his friend, Mr. Dunlop, "very pale, but full of dignity, as one about to do a great deed—and of elevation, from the consciousness that he was doing it for the cause of Christ." In solemn and fitting words the opening prayer was offered, and then a stillness as of death fell over the great assembly. Men held their breath—"every heart vibrated with a strange awe."

Again Dr. Welsh rose. "Fathers and Brethren," he said, and his voice sounded clear to the furthest limits of the great audience, "according to the usual form of procedure, this is the time for making up the roll, but in consequence of certain proceedings affecting our rights and privileges—proceedings which have been sanctioned by Her Majesty's Government, and by the Legislature of the country; and more especially in respect that there has been an infringement on the liberties of our Constitution, so that we could not now constitute this Court without a violation of the terms of the Union between Church and State in this land, as now authoritatively declared—I must protest against our proceeding further. The reasons that have led me to come to this conclusion are fully set forth in the docu-

* Dis. Mss. xlix. p. 9.

ment which I hold in my hand, and which, with permission of the House, I shall now proceed to read."

Then followed the memorable Protest, in which, after briefly stating the sacred principles for which the Church had contended, the encroachments by which her spiritual powers had been overthrown, and the impossibility of constituting the Assembly under such Erastian conditions, it was declared:

"We protest that, in the circumstances in which we are placed, it is and shall be lawful for us, and such other Commissioners chosen to the Assembly, appointed to have been this day holden, as may concur with us, to withdraw to a separate place of meeting, for the purpose of taking steps, along with all who adhere to us—maintaining with us the Confession of Faith and Standards of the Church of Scotland as heretofore understood—for separating in an orderly way from the Establishment, and thereupon adopting such measures as may be competent to us, in humble dependence on God's grace and the aid of the Holy Spirit, for the advancement of His glory, the extension of the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour, and the administration of the affairs of Christ's house according to His Holy Word; and we now withdraw accordingly, humbly and solemnly acknowledging the hand of the Lord in the things which have come upon us because of our manifold sins, and the sins of this Church and nation, but, at the same time, with an assured conviction that we are not responsible for any consequences that may follow from this, our enforced separation from an Establishment which we loved and prized, through interference with conscience, the dishonour done to Christ's crown, and the rejection of His sole and supreme authority as King in His Church."

With these closing words, the Moderator laid the Protest on the table—lifted his hat—turned to the Commissioner, who had risen—and bowed respectfully to the representative of Royalty, an act which seemed to many as if the true old Church of Scotland were then and there bidding farewell to the State which had turned a deaf ear to her appeals. Leaving the chair, Dr. Welsh moved toward the door, and Dr. Chalmers, who all the time had been close at his side, was seen eagerly following, along with Dr. Gordon, Dr. M'Farlan, Dr. Macdonald, and the other occupants of the bench in front.

At the sight of the movement, a loud cheer—but only for a moment—burst from the gallery. At once it was hushed, for the solemnity and sympathy were too deep for such a mode of expression, and silence again fell over the house, as all were eagerly gazing at the seats to the left of the chair. It was a sight never to be forgotten, as man after man rose, without hurry or confusion, and bench after bench was left empty, and the vacant space grew wider as ministers and elders poured out in long procession.

Outside in the street, the great mass of spectators had long been waiting in anxious anticipation, and when at last the cry rose, "They come! they come!" and when Dr. Welsh, Dr. Chalmers, and Dr. Gordon appeared in sight, the sensation, as they came forth, went like an electric shock through the vast multitude, and the long, deep shout which rang along the street told that the deed had been done. No arrangement had been made for a procession, for the strong wish of the ministers was to avoid all display. But there was no choice. On either hand the crowd drew back, opening out a lane wide enough to allow of three, or at most four, walking abreast. And so in steady ranks the procession moved on its way, while all around they were met with expressions of the deepest emotion.

The writer of this was not a member of Assembly, but in that part of the House allotted to ministers not members he was in a favourable position, where all that went on could be fully seen. After the movement had been made, he remained for some time, side by side with Dr. Horatius Bonar, to witness the departure of friends, and especially to note the effect on the Moderate party who remained behind. At first, Dr. Cook and his friends were all complacency, but as the full extent of the Disruption began to disclose itself, there came an expression of perplexity, which in not a few instances seemed to deepen into bewilderment and dismay.

On leaving the church and falling into the line of procession, it was evident that amidst the crowd the first sensation was over, though tears were seen in many eyes, and other signs of emotion could be observed. But what showed most strikingly the magnitude of the movement was the view from that point

in George Street where you look down the long vista toward Tanfield, and where one unbroken column was seen, stretching, amidst numerous spectators, all the way till lost in the distance.

But now we turn to the Disruption Mss. to note what personal reminiscences there may be of a day on which men were sacrificing their all.

Some record little else than the names of the friends with whom they went forth side by side as comrades in the hour of trial. Mr. Flyter, of Alness, says: "I walked down in procession to Tanfield in company with Dr. Smyttan, late of Bombay, and General Munro of Teaninich."* Mr. Dodds, of Humbie, records: "I walked down in procession to Canonmills along with my venerable father-in-law, Dr. Duncan, of Ruthwell, Dr. Henry Grey, of St. Mary's, Edinburgh, and my brother-in-law, Mr. George John Duncan, of Kirkpatrick-Durham."†

"The Rev. Nathaniel Paterson, D.D.; his brother the Rev. Walter Paterson; and Dr. Landsborough (Stevenston) walked arm-in-arm. What noble heads and fine countenances the three presented! Here were original genius; accurate scholarship, with varied accomplishments; and fine taste, with scientific learning. The three had in boyish days wandered together by the banks of the Ken; and now, when time had whitened their heads with the snow of age, they walked together in this memorable procession, being, by God's grace, willing to sacrifice all for the glory of that Saviour who had redeemed them with His blood."‡

Dr. Burns, of Kilsyth, goes more fully into detail: "On that memorable day, after hearing the sermon by the lamented Welsh, the writer of this walked over to St. Andrew's Church in company with a faithful man, Mr. Thomson, of Dysart. Ere he was aware, he found himself in what has been called the Moderate side of the Assembly, and was saluted by one of the Evangelicals who remained, as if he had been with them. The countenances of some old Moderates near him were very expressive of mingled astonishment and sorrow. On making egress from the house of bondage among the first, and being on the

* Parker Mss., Pres. of Dingwall. † Dis. Mss. xxxiii.

‡ Memoir of Dr. Landsborough, p. 176.

side next the street leading down to the new Assembly Hall, he was very near the front of the procession, being joined by [his] brother, Dr. George Burns, of Tweedsmuir, and by [his] son, W. C. Burns. It was doubtless a solemn, yet felt to be a noble and soul-stirring scene. The day was clear, and the path of duty equally so. The Lord was with us, and assuredly the best by far of the Scottish Church. The incubus of Moderatism and secularity seemed to be shaken off; and though legal stipend was now gone, away also went bonds, and horn, and poind. Truly, it has been the exodus from Egypt." *

Mr. Kerr, of H.M. Office of Works, being in charge of St. Andrew's Church, remained after Dr. Welsh and his friends had left. He states that "in the course of about twenty minutes there did not remain inside the church above one hundred human beings." † Looking at such a sight, what could men think but that it was the Church of Scotland which had gone out?

Of the procession Mr. Dunlop says: "True and great dignity and moral power impressed awe, which spoke in the silent language of respectful observance; and every now and then, as some more venerable father, or some tried champion of the cause, passed down, might be seen a head uncovered and bent in quiet reverence." ‡ This struck Mr. Duncan, of Kirkpatrick-Durham, as "the deepest touch of all, showing that earnest solemnity and the spirit of prayer had its place in the gazing throng." "There were hats raised from venerable heads, and words such as these dropped into the ears of the passing ministers: 'The Lord be with you!' 'God guide you!' 'May He strengthen you and bear you through!'"

"Here and there, as the child or wife of some outgoing minister caught sight of a husband or father's form, accomplishing an act which was to leave his family homeless and unprovided, warm tear-drops formed, which, as if half-ashamed of them, the hand of faith was in haste to wipe away." §

And sometimes, under the impulse of the moment, there were yet more demonstrative expressions of feeling. As Dr.

* Dis. Mss. xxix. p. 8. † *Ibid.* lii.

‡ Memoir of Dr. Welsh, p. 110.

§ Memoirs of Dr. Chalmers, vol. iv. p. 339.

Landsborough moved in the procession, "an aged minister was a little ahead of him. On a sudden the crowd broke, and a young lady sprang forward and caught the hand of the venerable servant of God, raised it up, and kissed it, and then, allowing it to drop, fell back into the crowd; while the old man seemed so much occupied with his own thoughts as scarcely to have noticed what had been done." *

Nor were such feelings confined to those who were out on the street. "Elsewhere in the city, Lord Jeffrey was sitting reading in his quiet room, when one burst in upon him, saying, 'Well, what do you think of it? More than four hundred of them are actually out!' The book was flung aside, and, springing to his feet, Lord Jeffrey exclaimed, 'I am proud of my country. There is not another country upon earth where such a deed could have been done.'"†

The hall at Tanfield had, from an early hour, been crowded by an audience bound together by common sympathies, and anxiously waiting the result. Long hours had passed, and when a shout from the outside announced the appearance of the procession, the excitement grew intense. At last they entered—not only the well-known champions of the cause, but rank after rank the ministers and elders came pouring in, till all the allotted space was filled; and when friend after friend was recognised, there came from the audience an irrepressible outburst of feeling which carried all before it, and found expression in acclamations and tears.

The opening prayer of Dr. Welsh was an outpouring of devout and holy feeling, which moved every heart in a way never to be forgotten. In proceeding to elect a Moderator, all eyes turned at once to Dr. Chalmers, and at the mention of his name by Dr. Welsh, the whole Assembly rose and broke forth in enthusiastic applause. When he came in and took the chair a singular incident occurred. A heavy passing cloud had for a time cast a gloom over the Assembly, and when Dr. Chalmers rose to give out the opening Psalm, "O send thy light forth

* Memoir of Dr. Landsborough, p. 179.

† Memoirs of Dr. Chalmers, vol. iv. p. 339.

and thy truth, let them be guides to me," the cloud suddenly broke, the full sunlight came pouring through the windows, brightening the scene, and "there were some who thought of Dr. Chalmers' text but six months before, Unto the upright there ariseth light in the darkness." The opening address which followed was worthy of the occasion, vindicating the position of the Free Church, and defining the place she was to occupy.

Thus, with feelings of indescribable relief and thankfulness, the first sederunt of the Free Assembly was brought to a close. Every single step during the anxious hours of that day had been in perfect keeping with the momentous character of the event. Many a heart looked up in gratitude to God for strength in the hour of trial—the feeling which Dr. Landsborough, with expressive abruptness, wrote down at the time in his brief journal of the Disruption day: "Remained till six o'clock. Exceeding order. Halleluiah! I shall never see the like till heaven."*

Such feelings were not confined to Edinburgh. Over all Scotland, far away from the scene of action, there were many thousands of quiet homes in which anxious hearts were eagerly awaiting the tidings. "It was a time," says Mr. Taylor, of Flisk, "of unutterable anxiety, and prayer was the only relief. Eli-like, we watched and thought that they were happiest who were engaged actually in the work. Diligence itself seemed lazy until we got the newspaper which told that the act was done, and, by the blessing of God, nobly done. With a full heart we read the account, and by some of the speeches were affected to tears." †

Thus, also, it was with the aged Dr. Ross, of Lochbroom: "When the papers containing the news of the Disruption arrived, with streams of joyous tears flowing down his cheeks, he, Simeon-like, praised God that he was spared to see the day on which such an event took place, and repeatedly offered his '*Nunc dimittis.*'" ‡

* Memoir, p. 173. † Dis. Mss. xxxvii. pp. 9, 10.

‡ Parker Mss., Pres. of Lochcarron.

## X. The Free Assembly.

The deed of the 18th of May having been thus completed, the members of Assembly at once set themselves to arrange for the building of churches, providing ministerial support, and all else that was required in their new position. With what sagacity and business-talent these affairs were adjusted has been shown by the results. But it seems impossible to avoid the conviction that the guidance and blessing of God were specially present with those who in a time of need were seeking the best methods by which to develop the resources of His Church. From the 18th to the 30th of May was a period of earnest work, into the details of which it is not for us here to enter.

Perhaps the most impressive act was the public signing of the Deed of Demission, a formal legal paper by which the emoluments and position of the Establishment were finally surrendered. This was done on Tuesday, the 23rd, in presence of a vast audience who hung in silence on the scene. Dr. M'Farlan, of Greenock, whose living was the richest in Scotland, appropriately led the way. Special interest attached to the appearance of some of the more aged ministers—to Dr. Muirhead, of Cramond, for example, who was ordained in 1788, when Moderatism was in the zenith of its power; and Dr. Sommerville, of Drumelzier, whose few theological writings, apologetical and doctrinal, had been of rare excellence, and who came forward with feeble steps, leaning on the arm of his son, but firm in his determination to give that testimony for Christ. It was altogether a memorable spectacle—ministers in one day signing away more than £100,000 a-year, "a Church disestablishing herself."

The number of the names affixed, including subsequent adherences, was 474. In November, 480 ministers (also including subsequent adherences) had pledged themselves that if the Government gave no relief, they must abandon the Establishment. For six months many an attempt had been made to tempt or terrify them, but when in May the day of trial came, the whole band, their numbers hardly diminished, stood in unbroken ranks. Not that the men were in all cases the same. Too many of the loudest talkers had been found faithless, but for every man who failed, another who had said little was ready to step forward and take his place; and so in the view of the world, the honour of the Church was intact, and her fidelity to the cause of Christ was openly vindicated.

In the proceedings of the Assembly much prominence was given to the cause of missions. It was evident that the Church would have to struggle hard for existence at home, but not for a moment was the work of missions allowed to fall into a secondary place. Two days after the movement to Tanfield the Assembly was already calling on Dr. Keith, of St. Cyrus, to report on the mission to the Jews, and often in after days has that distinguished minister dwelt with delight on the thought that it was "to the *Jew* first" the Free Church turned her regards, believing in the promise, "I will bless them that bless thee."

The whole missionary work at home and abroad was arranged in the full expectation that all the labourers in the mission-field would adhere to the Free Church. It was one of the most signal testimonies ever given to her principles when the entire missionary staff belonging to the Establishment, without a single exception, gave in their adherence. They were far removed from the din of controversy or the stir of public assemblies, and had in no way committed themselves. They might well have thought that a Church stripped of her temporalities, and having everything to provide for herself, would be little able to take the additional burden of all the missions. But not for a moment did they hesitate. The same faith and self-sacrifice which led them at first into the mission-field guided them once more. The cause of the Free Church was for them

the cause of Christ. They renounced the Establishment, and cast in their lot with their out-going brethren.

Thus the meeting of the Assembly passed away—a bright blessed time of unbroken brotherly love, of intellectual elevation and spiritual enlargement, the happy memories of which the men who took part in it can never cease to cherish.

## XI. Farewell Service in the Parish Church.

The great crisis, then, was over. The crowded meetings, overflowing with joyful enthusiasm, had to be left behind, and men parted to go home and meet, as best they might, the exertions and privations consequent on what had been done. Then it was that, in many a solitary country parish, on returning to manses and churches no longer their own, the true nature of the trial was fully realised.

"It was my privilege," says Dr. Hanna, referring to the country ministers, the real sufferers of the Disruption, "to know one of these men, the father of a large family. He came into Edinburgh, signed the Deed of Demission, and set out—it was a long day's journey—to travel home on foot to that family whose home and whose support he had signed away. He entered a house by the wayside. As he crossed its threshold, the remembrance flashed suddenly upon him that it was thirty years since he had entered that door, going into Edinburgh to College, a solitary and friendless youth. Quickly upon that memory the thought of piety linked itself. 'The God,' said he to himself, 'who has hitherto guided me and mine these thirty years, will not forsake me now.' His faith in his Heavenly Father put fresh strength into his heart, and he went on his way with a light and elastic step." *

Before leaving Edinburgh, a general understanding had been come to, that there should be no farewell sermons, no formal taking leave of the parish churches. The intensity of feeling was already so deep that it was deemed best to avoid adding to the excitement. In towns, and among the leading congregations, this understanding was generally acted on, but each minister

* The Church and its Living Head, by Rev. Dr. Hanna, pp. 23, 24.

was left to judge for himself, and, as some of the brethren resolved to hold a parting service, it is right to notice the accounts which they have themselves given of these scenes.

For the most part they are very quietly referred to. "On the 11th of June I preached for the last time in the Established church which I had occupied for twenty-eight years, taking for a text in the Gaelic, Micah ii. and 10, 'Arise ye and depart, for this is not your rest;' and in the English, Hebrews xiii. and 13, 'Let us go forth therefore unto him without the camp, bearing his reproach.' I may remark here, that this text in Hebrews occurred to me with particular force just as I joined the procession in George Street, on the day of the Disruption, and by the comforting impression then made on my own mind, I was led to address my congregation from it in taking leave of the church."*

At Flisk, Mr. Taylor's statement is brief: "On the next Sabbath I took farewell of the Establishment, in a sermon on Rev. iii. 11, 'Hold that fast which thou hast, that no man take thy crown.' I formally stated my reason for the decided step. The church was very full. There was deep silence and solemnity, and some were in tears."†

Mr. Davidson, of Latheron, gives no account of his sermon, but says: "I took the opportunity of explaining to my congregation what had taken place, . . . and my own altered situation in consequence, asking them to make up their minds deliberately and prayerfully as to the course they should adopt in circumstances so solemn. At the same time, I intimated a meeting of session for next day, in order to afford the elders an opportunity of declaring their sentiments. . . . I pronounced the benediction and left the pulpit, where I had been privileged to minister, however unworthily, for the long period of twenty-three years. That I did so with a heavy heart may readily be conceived, believing as I did that in all probability I should never enter it again. In this feeling the congregation very deeply shared, for many of them seemed affected to tears on leaving the church."‡

* Mr. Mackenzie, of Farr, Dis. Mss. xx. p. 4.

† Dis. Mss. xxxvii. p. 10. ‡ Dis. Mss., Parish of Latheron, p. 3.

There were some of the ministers who passed through a similar state of feeling at an earlier stage, their knowledge of the world causing them to anticipate the time of trial. Writing of Dr. Duncan at Ruthwell, Mrs. D. says: "About that time [more than a year before the Disruption] I think the deepest feeling was experienced. . . . He looked on the Church of his childhood's habit and his manhood's choice with profound respect. Convinced that in her principles there was soundness and strength, it overwhelmed him with grief to see her overborne by an interference that he counted unscriptural and illegitimate. So keen was this feeling in him that more than once at the meetings he was obliged to stop. . . . It was remarkable that he never was overcome to that extent in the other villages, but in the Society room at Ruthwell he could not command himself. . . . For forty years he had wedded his affections to his people. That room he had procured for the male and female friendly societies, and there were carried on many of his useful operations. There he had helped them about their ballots for the militia in war time. There, in time of threatened invasion, he had aroused his volunteers. There, in times of scarcity, he had planned with them the bringing of ship-loads of Indian corn and potatoes, and there the stores had been distributed. There he had first unfolded his opening scheme of a savings bank for his own parish. There he had many times examined the village Sabbath school; and there, times uncounted, he had met with them of an evening to worship God. Two evenings in particular, when he was completely overcome, there sat before him those whose spiritual condition he had never been able to influence, and when he looked on them he wept. From the time, however, when the Home Secretary's harsh and ill-considered replies to all the Church's requests proved to him that we had nothing to look for from Government, his natural fortitude was restored to him. He felt that each must take their own place, and stand in their own lot. He warned his people firmly and affectionately, but he never failed again."

Bearing this in mind, we can understand the calmness with which the farewell service was quietly gone through at Ruthwell on the last Sabbath before the Disruption. "The period

seemed perilous ; small things were noted with unusual observance. As we crossed the grounds, rendered so beautiful by his taste and skill, on our way to church, the Sabbath before the Assembly, to our astonishment we found the sun-dial overturned. No part of it was broken but the stile. 'You will never more point your people to the Sun of Righteousness in Ruthwell Church,' remarked one by his side. 'Very likely,' was his quiet reply. Farther on in the lawn we found a flourishing evergreen torn up by the roots, and saw our neighbour's herd of cattle before us, which had broken into the garden. 'Will you say next that old James is not to work again in this garden,' asked another. 'Most likely,' was the answer. We entered the dear old church with solemn thoughts, and heard him preach a sermon on Christ a Priest on His throne, in which he bore his last testimony in that place to the priestly and kingly offices of his Divine Redeemer." *

In certain cases the parting took place after the Assembly, but previous to the Sabbath. "At Woodside, Aberdeen, on Thursday, June 1st, a large assemblage was convened in the church for the purpose of fully discussing the whole question. After addressing the people for nearly two hours, the minister proceeded in conclusion to advert to the prospects of the congregation with reference to their place of worship, and to the arrangements necessary to be made for the succeeding Sabbath, when it was expected that the pulpit would be declared vacant by the Established Presbytery. He urged upon the people the necessity of quiet and becoming conduct on the solemn occasion of leaving their church, entreating them to show to their opponents that *their quarrel was not with men, but with principles, and to exhibit towards those that differed from them the meekness and gentleness of Christ.* He impressed further upon the people the necessity of decision, and that their next Sabbath would be the testing day as to their principles. . . . He concluded by taking a solemn leave of those walls within which they had worshipped so long, trusting that the Lord the Spirit would be with them under a lowlier roof, and prepare them for meeting at last in 'a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.'" †

* Dis. Mss. xvi. p. 4. † Dis. Mss. xxvii. p. 5.

Dr. Grierson, of Errol, has given his experience with greater fulness. "There was a very large attendance of the parishioners to meet with me in church on the Sabbath after my return from the Assembly. I had not thought it either expedient or natural to take leave of the place of worship before the Disruption actually occurred, and as there had been no worship in the parish church on the first Sabbath of the Assembly, I was anxious to meet with all my people there once more, although I had signed my demission as a minister of the Establishment, in order that I might under such solemn circumstances preach and press on them the blessed Gospel which many of them would never again hear from my lips, and that I might afterwards lay before them all when thus assembled a full and emphatic statement of the grounds on which I had taken that final step by which I had surrendered so many earthly attachments and advantages. . . . As the meeting was held only for these purposes, the services, though I preached twice, were all confined to that one meeting, at the close of which I took as solemn a leave of that place of worship and of many of the worshippers as I had already done of the Establishment, and intimated that public worship with the adherents of the Free Church would be observed next Lord's Day in the open air, and on the green in front of the Manse. The whole audience was most deeply affected. . . . The burst of feeling was perfectly overwhelming to myself as well as to others. After having with great difficulty of articulation pronounced the benediction, I had to remain in the pulpit nearly a quarter of an hour till every person had left the place except my chief companion in this painful trial, whom I found standing at the end of her accustomed pew in tears, the children having left her. . . . That was to me the most heartrending moment connected with the Disruption, yet the depth of the sympathy and attachment which had been manifested afforded me very precious consolation." *

One more of these parting services deserves notice, as bringing out the testimony of a father of the Church, already referred to in these pages, who held a prominent place in the North—Dr. Ross, of Lochbroom. He was considered, it is said, the best

* Dis. Mss. xi. p. 5.

Gaelic scholar of his day, spoke with fluency five languages, read Hebrew and Greek *ad aperturam*, a man of general culture, whom Sir David Brewster engaged to assist him when publishing the Edinburgh Encyclopedia. "He spent a most useful and honourable life among his people, who still cling to his memory with fond affection. Dr. Ross was one of those who saw, at an early stage of the struggle with the Civil Courts, that the maintenance of a faithful testimony for Christ and the spiritual rights of His people would end in the separation of the Church of Scotland from the State. They are still living to whom he said, five years before the Disruption, that it would take place, and that they would see the road leading to the door of the Established Church of Lochbroom covered with grass, as the church would be deserted by the people, because it would be occupied by such as are described by the prophet Isaiah, lvi. 10. The first Sabbath after the Disruption, Dr. Ross, then in very infirm health, attended the church as a hearer. After sermon by the Rev. Mr. Grant, Dr. Ross rose in his seat, and, with tears running from his eyes, praised the Lord for the testimony to the honour of Christ given by the Disruption party. He then exhorted the people to leave the State Church, which, almost to a man, they then did, and to this day [1867] have never returned."*

The kind of statements, however, made from the pulpit on these occasions will be best understood from one or two examples. "In May, 1840," says Dr. Parker, of Lesmahagow, "I began a series of lectures on the Old Testament. . . . On the Lord's day preceding my departure to attend the Assembly of May, 1843, I was brought in providence to the close of the exposition of Genesis. . . . I preached in the parish church for the last time (May 28), I mentioned that I had intended that day . . . to enter on the exposition of Exodus, but the Lord had provided other work for me, and was calling on me to make a practical Exodus, and depart from the thraldom of Egypt—the Establishment, now thoroughly Erastianised. . . . I took a brief review of God's providential dealings towards our Church in the great controversy in which

* Parker Mss., Pres. of Lochcarron.

she had been engaged. I added that while, by the help of God, desirous to adhere to all the vows and obligations under which I had come at my ordination, . . . and maintaining firmly all the standards and principles of the Church of Scotland, I could no longer continue in connection with an Establishment which had virtually denied the kingly office of Christ, and submitted its spiritual jurisdiction to the control of Cæsar." *

In closing his sermon at Crailing, Mr. Milroy put the question: "Why is our relation disturbed? . . . Why, so happy, so peaceful, so united, do we not remain so? . . . Why shall the simple music of the church-bell not summon us again together into this house of prayer, awakening devout feelings, solemn retrospect, heavenly anticipation? Think not, dear brethren, that I am a stranger to these ties. . . . Mine is not the heart to be insensible to sweet associations and solemn recollections, neither do I disregard the manifold advantages of the position I have held. . . . But there is something dearer to the Christian's heart than outward peace, . . . and that is the honour of his Lord and Redeemer. . . . By events, in hastening which I have had no part, the point has been raised, whether or not we shall continue to retain the civil advantages of our position as an Establishment on grounds which, to say the least, set aside and merge the glory of the Redeemer as King of Zion and sole Head of the Church. . . . I have preferred to resign worldly advantages, rather than retain them on wrong conditions. I am not insensible to the sacrifice, neither are my hopes sanguine as to the future, but the present path of duty only is ours.

"Ever since I came amongst you, . . . I have set myself against that accommodating religion which will go so far with Christ, but will not follow Him wholly. And now I am called myself to set you the example. Interest and feeling stand ranged on one side, principle on another. I choose the latter. I cleave to Christ's supremacy, and I trust to be remembered among you even after my body shall slumber in the dust, as one who honestly urged you to give yourselves wholly to Christ, and who himself set you the example by sacrificing his earthly advantages for Christ's crown and glory. . . . Between me and

* Dis. Mss. xxxi. p. 5.

not a few of this flock I trust the bond will yet subsist. . . . With others I fear the pastoral connection is to cease, because of their mistaken, I question not, conscientious attachment to the walls and notion of an Establishment. Such, in my estimation, prefer the outward shadow to the inward substance, these external circumstances to the grand principles on which the Church of Scotland has been based. These principles we retain. . . . With us, then, is the Church of Scotland; with others are the civil advantages she once enjoyed.

"For yourselves, I entreat you to consider well the part you act. As for me, God forbid that I should cease to pray for you. . . . When I look back, dear brethren, if I feel regret, it is the regret of not holding forth with sufficient fervour the overwhelming love of Jesus, of not being touched enough with the misery of perishing souls. Oh! that I may live henceforth under this twofold impression of the love of Jesus, and the value of immortal souls. Him, having not seen, do I love. He is a blessed Master to serve. This has been my testimony when the candle of prosperity has been shining; it is my testimony now that the cloud of adversity is overhanging. Come, oh, come into the service of this Master. Away with coldness, away with formality, away with deadness. Arise, arise, and return to your God. . . . Come, O Spirit of the living God, and breathe on these slain, that they may live. Amen and amen." *

* Extracted from Mss. furnished by his son, the Rev. A. W. Milroy, M.A. Oxon., Reader at the Rolls, London.

## XII. First Service in the Free Church Congregation.

If there was pain in leaving the old churches, the loved scenes of former labour, yet the real point of anxiety was the first meeting of the several Free Church congregations on the succeeding Sabbath. On the numbers who might then rally round the pastor depended his whole prospects of usefulness, and, indeed, of support, through life. In many a manse men looked forward with much misgiving to that memorable Sabbath morning when, all over Scotland, the hitherto united congregations were to be seen breaking up and going in opposite directions. In giving some examples of the scenes which took place, it will be seen how calmly, for the most part, the circumstances are spoken of.

There were parishes in which the results went far beyond what ministers had expected. At Roslin, for three months after the Convocation, Mr. Brown states, the aspect of matters was very dark and discouraging. About the end of that period he tried privately what could be done in the way of collecting money for building a new church, but he found no one willing to do anything. Subsequently, matters were more promising, and, after the Disruption, "the first meeting was held, on the 28th of May, in the old graveyard near Roslin Castle, in the presence of a very large congregation, though the intimation of the meeting there had been made only on the preceding day. He conducted public worship on each of the next eighteen Sabbaths in succession in the same beautiful and romantic situation, with the exception of one Sabbath, which was rather unfavourable." Of 240 communicants, 200 came out, and 40 remained in the Establishment.*

* Dis. Mss. xiv. pp. 1-3.

Dr. Landsborough, of Stevenston, had, as we have seen, declared that very few would follow him, and had received the reply, "There will perhaps be more than you think." Accordingly, he tells the result: "When I returned from the General Assembly, it was arranged that I should preach in the Freemasons' Hall in the forenoon. . . . In going to the hall I met few coming to the Established church, and I saw few going on their way to the hall, so that I knew not how matters were going on. When I reached the hall I found that it was completely filled, and a crowd standing about the door who could not gain admission. The Rev. Gilbert Laing, who unexpectedly arrived, readily consented to officiate in another hall. . . . In the Freemasons' Hall, for the first time as a minister of the Free Protesting Church of Scotland, I preached to a densely crowded and most attentive congregation."*

Sometimes the meeting was held in the minister's house. At Morningside, Dr. Chalmers opened his own dwelling-house, and converted it into a church; and "perhaps he never occupied a more picturesque position than when, planted midway up the staircase, he preached to a disjointed congregation, scattered into different rooms, all of whom could hear, but not half of whom could see, the clergyman."†

At Innerwick, near Dunbar, the first Free Church service was held on 11th June in the manse. The congregation, amounting to about the usual number, filled the rooms and staircase, while the minister, Mr. Forman, stood in the lobby. When, at the close, he intimated that in the course of the week he would remove with his family to the town of Dunbar, and that he was as yet uncertain where a place would be found in which to address them next Lord's Day, there were many of his hearers whose stifled sobs and watery eyes expressively testified the intensity of their feelings.‡

For the most part, however, it was in the open air that the first meetings were held. At Monkton, Mr. Burns and his adhering people retired to a stackyard at the back of the farm of West Orangefield, where for many months in the

* Dis. Mss. xxxix. p. 3. † Memoirs of Dr. Chalmers, iv. 357.

‡ *Witness*, 14th June, 1843.

memorable summer of 1843 they heard the Word with gladness.*

At Moy, Inverness-shire, Dr. M'Lauchlan states: "The first Sabbath after my return from Edinburgh and the Disruption Assembly was the 4th of June. The day was cold and discouraging, the only one of the kind during the summer. The place of meeting was chosen by the people themselves in the Ballintraan Wood, about the middle of the parish. This day was to test the feelings of the people, and I was anxious; but the attendance was good, embracing every man of any consequence in the parish at the time, and several from the parish of Duthil. My text was from Ps. lxxxiii. 4. I was much encouraged to find the people so hearty."†

At Ruthwell, on the second Sabbath of the Assembly, "the Rev. Horatius Bonar, of Kelso, preached on the green hillside [on the farm of Mr. Rogerson], to between 2000 and 3000 people [Dr. Duncan had written from Edinburgh, giving directions to have the whins removed]. Vehicles of many descriptions were there from great distances. Solemnity, curiosity, and anxiety occupied the feelings of the crowd. They expected much of Church affairs; but it was too good an opportunity for preaching the everlasting Gospel. . . . The Plant of Renown was his subject; and I have heard some who say that in eternity they will bless the Lord for having heard the Plant described that day."‡

At Ayr, the church of Mr. Grant was one of the *quoad sacra* churches, built chiefly by the Evangelical party; and he says: "We were inclined, if possible, to retain the building. . . . The first Sabbath of August, 1843, was to be my first communion [Mr. Grant had been ordained 23rd April, 1843]. Eight days previously, an interdict from the Court of Session was handed to me, forbidding me the use of the church. This quite took us by surprise. We were not aware that such a step had been proposed. At the instigation of the parish minister of St. Quivox, a few members of the congregation, who had not contributed one sixpence towards the erection of the church, had

* Dis. Mss. xxxiv. p. 3. † Dis. xlix. p. 6.

‡ Dis. Mss. xvi. pp. 5, 6.

been induced to apply for an interdict; and the matter had been pressed on quickly, for the purpose of excluding us from the church on our communion Sabbath. This was done, as we afterwards learned, under the idea that, as my people had never partaken of the Supper with me, they might not consider themselves bound to my ministry; and, if prevented from participating at that time in their own church, might detach themselves from me. It proved a great mistake; for not a few of my people who were at that time irresolute, regarded the interdict as an insult to the congregation, and dishonouring to the Lord's Supper, and at once gave in their adherence to the Free Church.

"The interdict was received at the end of the week—I think, on Saturday. On Sabbath, when the congregation assembled they found the doors locked. The elders directed them to a school-house close beside. When I entered, it was crowded. Among others, I recognised the well-known face of Alexander Murray Dunlop, then on a visit in Ayr. After the first Psalm, we adjourned to the street, and kept our preparation Sabbath in the open air. I well remember the relief I felt when, during prayer, a lady held her parasol to shelter my head from the blazing sun. . . . On the sacramental Sabbath we assembled in Mr. William Alexander's woodyard. The logs were arranged for seats for the congregation, and the pulpit and tables were placed under cover of the sawpit. Rain having come on, some old sails were stretched out as a covering for the people. It was a day much to be remembered. Some of my people still surviving [1875] often speak of it, and especially of the evening sermon by the Rev. P. Borrowman, of Glencairn, on the white stone and the New Name."*

The venerable Dr. Burns, at Kilsyth, on returning from Edinburgh, had preached his farewell sermon in the churchyard, "near the tomb of Mr. Robe, of pious memory, to a very large assembly, from 1 Peter iv. 17, 'If judgment begin at the house of God,' &c. . . . . The day was favourable, the sun shone bright, the scene was truly affecting and impressive." It was on the succeeding Sabbath, 4th June, that the Free Church congregation first met. Public worship was conducted on

* Dis. Mss. xli. pp. 6-8.

"a beautiful sloping bank on the side of the Garrel Burn, . . . near the church now left after twenty-two years' occupation, and within the walls of which scenes ever memorable and sweet and solemn had been witnessed. The morning had threatened rain, but many prayers had been put up for a favourable day. By eleven o'clock the day cleared up. Within the house of Mr. Thomas Shaw the minister's Bible was deposited, and this godly man accompanied him to the tent carrying the Bible under his arm, and as the church-bell sounded to declare a vacancy, the Free Church hearers were thronging to the tent brae, where, for two hours, they heard the Word from their outed minister—the text, 2 Cor. ii. 9. He was carried through the work of the day comfortably, though it is not easy to describe the feelings of himself and family on that occasion." "We trust the Lord was with us in the field, by the stream from the mountain, while there were some falling tears when we thought of the Sabbaths gone by." *

Such scenes as these were taking place in all the country districts of Scotland. Even in the larger towns the first meetings of the Free Church congregations were often held in striking circumstances.

At Woodside, Aberdeen, it was resolved to meet "in the open air, in the spacious playground of the school, which was accordingly seated for the purpose, and was capable of containing upwards of 1500 persons. A small pulpit was placed at one end, and an awning spread above it as a protection from the weather. The morning of Sabbath, 4th June, was cold and ungenial. Dark clouds overspread the sky, and a cold wind blew from the north. Long before the hour of worship the people began to assemble in the playground, and by eleven o'clock it was densely filled by more than 1500 persons, many having come from a distance to witness so novel a spectacle. The minister commenced by singing the first four verses of Psalm xx., and after prayer, preached from Acts xxiv. 14-16, 'But this I confess unto thee, that after the way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers,' &c. The service closed with the baptism of two children. The whole proceedings were con-

* Dis. Mss. xxix. pp. 9, 31.

ducted in the most orderly manner. A spirit of deep solemnity pervaded the assembly." *

Mr. M'Bean, minister of the Gaelic congregation at Greenock, attempted at first to keep possession of his *quoad sacra* church, but the Established Presbytery were prompt in their action. On Saturday, 24th June, he was at their instance interdicted from entering his pulpit. "This was the crisis in the history of the Gaelic congregation, . . . a time of great anxiety. . . . The office-bearers, in the emergency, agreed to ask the magistrates for the use of the Duncan Street burying-ground, the right of management being in the corporation. Their application was at once granted, and the people assembled there the following day at eleven. This Sabbath, June 25th, will be ever memorable in the history of the Free Gaelic congregation. The burying-ground presented a scene that day which can never be forgotten by those who witnessed it. It was a bright, warm, sunny day, so that the people experienced little inconvenience by worshipping in the open air. Let us hope it was also a day in which the Sun of Righteousness arose with healing on His wings to many. A tent was erected near the centre of the ground, from which Mr. M'Bean preached in the forenoon in Gaelic, from Hebrews xi. 25, 'Choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God,' &c.; and it afforded him unfeigned satisfaction to see that the people had all adhered to the Free Church, with only one or two exceptions. In the afternoon many from other congregations joined in the services, being drawn together partly from sympathy with the outed minister and his people, and partly, no doubt, from the novelty of the scene, so far at least as Greenock was concerned. His text on this occasion was Hebrews x. 34, 'For ye had compassion on me in my bonds, and took joyfully the spoiling of your goods,' &c., from which he preached an eloquent and powerful discourse; and in the evening the Rev. John Glass, of Bracadale, afterwards of Musselburgh, preached from Hebrews ii. 3, 'How shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation,' with his characteristic earnestness and zeal, to a large and attentive assemblage." †

* Dis. Mss. xxvii. p. 5.

† Parker Mss., Pres. of Greenock.

So far as the town congregations, however, were concerned, open-air services were the exception. A much more frequent case was such as that of St. Andrew's congregation, Glasgow, so well described by Dr. Paterson. On returning from the Assembly, he states that he found "the elders in a pother, totally unprovided with a place for the remnant to meet in next Sabbath, and it was then Friday evening . . . Instead of going to my sermons (I had counted on only one, but a scheme of exchange had failed), I must set out in quest of the elders, to see what must be done in such an emergency. I had only gone a little way when I met an angel with a smiling face —Meekie, who, with her brother, was hieing to our house. She is my jewel, I should rather say God's, and the world will never go ill with me as long as she is in it. She had that day more joy than a kingdom could have given her. One of her nearest friends had become serious. After a brief welcome, she told me a place was procured, and an advertisement sent to two newspapers, placards ready, and circulars, which were to be sent to some hundreds of the congregation. It was justly said by one of the best of our session, that Miss M. was better than six elders. I immediately turned with the party to see the place. It was the very room where the same congregation gave me a public dinner on my installation in Glasgow. . . . This room of the Black Bull Inn had been obtained at the request of Miss M. The landlady is decidedly with us; her husband wavering; the family belong to my flock. Mercy is twice blessed. The hostess consented with tears, saying that my angel had been sent by God, for they had been in doubt whether to remain with the walls, and this had come just to confirm them. On Sabbath morning, instead of the vestry, I was accoutred in the parlour of a public-house. I could not help asking an elder who was present, whether anybody had come. He said, with a grave countenance, there were some. My text was, 'Behold the Bridegroom cometh, go ye out to meet him.' This subject for both diets was suggested by Meekie on her seeing a millenarian placard to that effect on the posts of the doors within which we were to assemble. My use of the text, no doubt differing from that of the millenarian, was, *Go out*, for the Bridegroom

will not *come in.* When the bells had rung their last peal, the grave elder returned with a bright face, and said the hall was choke full, and that one of the audience had just been to St. Andrew's for his books, where Mr. Smith, of Cathcart, a sympathiser, was to preach, and where, at five minutes to eleven o'clock, only three persons had assembled. This was something like going out; my heart rose like a balloon, and I never went to a pulpit with more comfort, or preached with more freedom. They say that listeners never hear good of themselves, and it is as probable that spies see as little. In our hall, a boy was heard counting away at heads behind backs, and the vile work came afterwards to be explained. The boy is a boarder with Mr. Allan, a teacher, a probationer, a rampant Moderate, and an elder of St. Andrew's walls. The boy knows my boys, and told them he was sent by his master to count both congregations. His report was: in the hall, 456—alas, it could hold no more; in the church, 35—alas, it could hold 1200. . . . And now, having done with this wonderful day, I am grateful to add, that never had I more content or a frame of spirit more disposed to praise the Lord for His goodness. I shall have less money, but many retrenchments will now be honourable, and I have no fear of suffering want."* [It may be added, Dr. Forbes, of St. Paul's, in a letter of date 10th August, 1874, not long before his death, characterises the above statement as an admirable account of the proceedings of the first Sabbath, and adds, that it may be taken as a lively account of the general proceedings of that day in Glasgow.]

At Errol, Dr. Grierson's expectations of the numbers who should adhere to the Free Church were not great. The place of meeting was the green in front of the manse. "When the day came (June 4th), the appearances at first were very unpromising. I had shut myself up in my study," he says, "that I might not have my thoughts distracted or my feelings agitated by what was passing without. I learned, however, that even when the time appointed for our public worship was almost come, an earlier hour than usual having been found necessary, no hearers had come to occupy the seats placed for them on the green

* Mr. Nath. Paterson's Letters, with Memoir, pp. 149, 150.

except two widows in humble life, each of whom as she passed the collection plate, dropped into it her consecrated mite. But shortly afterwards, the people began to assemble in considerable numbers, when it appeared that they had lingered in the neighbourhood, and had not taken their places till almost the last moment, as if they had felt that their assembling in such a spot before the worship was about to begin was somewhat like invading the privacy of domestic life.

"The place of meeting was extremely picturesque and retired. It was immediately in front of the manse, in the form of an oval, and entirely enclosed by tall shrubs, chiefly laurels, interspersed with lilacs and laburnums—the former lifting their fragrant and massy tufts, and the latter hanging forth their golden and waving tassels over the others. The scenery of the immediate neighbourhood was all shut out, except the tower and pinnacles of that church which we had so lately left. The pulpit, which had been brought down the evening before on the willing shoulders of some dozen of the young men, was placed with its back to the east, so that the occupant might be sheltered from the wind blowing from that quarter, and was flanked by a tall and taper young yew-tree, whose solemn verdure harmonised well with the nature of the services which were to be celebrated so near it.

"The pulpit itself was that which had belonged to the church that was taken down after the present one had been erected. It had been presented to me by the heritors as the one from which I had been addressed on the day of my ordination, and from which I had preached for nearly the first fourteen years of my ministry; and, as was noticed at the time, the person who by appointment that day occupied the pulpit I had left was the very individual who had presided when the Presbytery ordained me. A few of my parishioners, not quite two years before, though not in anticipation of the events which had now occurred, had presented me with a handsome family Bible and Psalm-book; and when these were carried before me, and placed in the pulpit by my youngest child, a boy of seven years of age, who had requested permission to perform this service, many in the meeting, as I was afterwards informed, were sen-

sibly affected. When I walked through the rows of the people, some seated on forms, some on the grass, and many of them standing, and took my seat in my old pulpit, I was at first much overpowered; but during the singing of the psalm, which in ordinary course happened to be the 65th, I regained my composure, which was not again disturbed, although in the course of the first prayer the bell of the parish church, which had then ceased to be under my control, kept ringing for the whole of the usual time.

"My text was Hebrews xi. 24-27, which occupied me the whole day. The people were extremely attentive, and when I came to the application of the subject in the afternoon, having by this time obtained a lithographed copy of the Deed of Demission, with the signatures of all the 470 ministers, I threw it open over the side of the pulpit, as a recent and practical illustration of the noble principles embodied in the text, which seemed to produce a very powerful impression. It was calculated that between six and seven hundred persons were present. Some of them, as I was fully aware, had been attracted merely by the novelty of the occasion, or some such motive, and without any intention of adhering to our solemn Protest; while others who really intended to do so would, as it was to be feared, and ultimately proved to be the case, be intimidated, importuned, or enticed to withdraw from us. The first time that I had any leisure to attend particularly to the numbers that were present was at the dismissal after the forenoon service. Being called up to the staircase window, I saw the road from the manse to the village, a distance of fully two hundred yards, covered with people for nearly its whole extent as closely as they could walk. They were generally of the humbler classes; but their liberal collection — about eight times the amount of the average before we left the Establishment— showed that their hearts were with us. At this sight I burst into tears, thanked God, and took courage." *

Dr. Simpson, of Kintore, had looked forward to the Disruption with painful emotions on many grounds. "Though I never failed," he says, "to record my vote in the Church

* Dis. Mss. xi. pp. 5-7.

Courts, and to keep the subject in the view of my people, yet the controversy became to me extremely unpleasant; and, strange as it may seem, I sought refuge from it in a course of study altogether unconnected with its immediate bearing. . . . I was all the while, however, . . . determined to stand or fall by the principles I had conscientiously espoused, leaving events to God.

"I was perfectly aware that a considerable number of my people favoured the cause to which I adhered; but I did not expect that more than a small section of them would take the decisive step of seceding from the Established Church along with me. I had even some doubts whether it would be practicable or expedient to form a Free Church congregation in Kintore. But these unworthy misgivings were speedily dissipated. The event showed that I did my people great injustice in the opinion I had formed of them. I shall never forget the feelings I experienced on first entering the Farmers' Hall, in which we held our meetings for public worship till the new church was erected. Mrs. Simpson had been taken ill that Sabbath morning, and I felt very much the want of her cheering support in the trying duties of the day. I therefore left the manse with inexpressible sadness of heart. Such was my extreme depression of spirits that I fancied I derived strength and encouragement from the presence even of my two eldest children [both under ten years of age], whose little hands I grasped with eagerness as I walked along. But, oh, how my almost fainting heart was revived and sustained when I surveyed the interesting assembly, and saw so many of those of my former flock, whom I loved most dearly, seated around my humble pulpit, and bending on me intent looks of the tenderest attachment and kindest sympathy. The only tears I shed in connection with the Disruption burst from my eyes at this moment, and they were not tears of grief, but of lively gratitude and joy."*

Even in localities where the Free Church proved to be exceptionally strong, that Sabbath morning was a time of anxiety and misgiving, as may be seen from the experience of Mr. Craig, of Rothesay :—

* Dis. Mss., Dr. Simpson, Kintore, pp. 2, 3.

"The parish manse of Rothesay stands on the slope of a hill by the side of the road, called the Minister's Brae. . . . It looks across the valley in which the town is situated. . . . From the upper windows a fine view is obtained of the entire town and bay, . . . the entrance to the Kyles of Bute, and their varied and attractive scenery. It is surrounded by trees, all of which were planted by Mr. Craig, among which he had often walked with delight, pruning-knife in hand, and enjoying instructive, playful, and exhilarating conversation with a friend. Each of them might almost be looked on as an old acquaintance. . . .

"The parish church is situated about a mile out of town, at the lower end of Loch Fad. . . . The road that conducts to it from the town resembles an avenue, a row of elegant trees lining it all the way. Arrangements had been made for conducting worship, on the first Sabbath after Mr. Craig's return, in the Gaelic Church. Its accommodation was small, but it was not known to what extent the congregation might assemble round their minister on this occasion. It *was* known that at least a few decided and faithful witnesses would be found, true to their principles and true to their friend. Sabbath, 4th June, was a calm and lovely day. The sun shone bright and clear. The air was balmy and pure. Scarcely a breath of wind was felt, or the slightest rustling of the foliage observable. The bay was still and peaceful as a lake. . . .

"As he was wont, Mr. Craig left the manse about half-an-hour before the time of beginning public worship. It is scarcely possible for any one who has not passed through a similar experience and mental state to enter into the feelings of a minister's heart on such an occasion as this. He has left for God's and conscience' sake the place wherein he has proclaimed for years the grand doctrines of salvation to a large and affectionate congregation. He has cast himself on the care of a gracious and loving Providence, not knowing what shall befall him. Principles are at stake, a testimony for which is to be lifted up, and in the defence of which, for the Lord's sake and their own, he *would* be joined, if possible, by those whose happiness is dear to him as his own soul. The hour of trial is

come. He may have his misgivings. Who are the faithful ones? How many will be on the Lord's side? Like Eli of old, trembling for the ark, his heart trembles for the honour of his Lord. If *that* be evidently safe, all selfish considerations entirely laid aside, he is happy and glad. Some such emotion as this may have passed through his mind on the present occasion.

"For many years past, a long continuous stream of men and women and children was to be seen each Sabbath morning wending their way solemnly and thoughtfully along the road, literally as in the case of Israel, '*going up* to give thanks unto the Lord.' The minister walks down the avenue from the manse, and goes out upon the highway. Not a creature is to be seen. A single remark is made to his friend accompanying him, and then he is silent. Passing onward, he reaches the High Street, and changing his usual route—formerly to the left—he turns down to the right. A solemn silence reigns. Not a human being has yet been seen. Into what channel has the usual stream been directed? 'There are to be few in church to-day—the next corner will disclose something surely,' and again all is silence. Not a word is spoken. The mental excitement is intense. Curiosity is fully awakened. Hope has been wound up to the highest pitch. The given spot is reached, and *the* discovery is now to be made. He turns off to the left, and at right angles to the High Street. Now a cheering sight greets the eye and fills the heart with devoutest gratitude to God. A dense multitude crowds round the door of the Gaelic Church, vainly expecting admittance to what was already a packed house. The lobbies, the passages, the pulpit stairs, all are filled. Every inch of standing room is occupied. His former beadle, John Macdonald, is waiting to attend him *as usual.* The greater number of his attached elders surround him *as usual.* His congregation, too, is there *much as usual.* With great difficulty, from the density of the crowd, the pulpit is reached. After praise, prayer, and the reading of the Word, in all which exercises his own spirit was deeply moved, he discoursed with remarkable unction and power to the joy and edification of his people, from Psalm cxxvi. 3: 'The Lord hath

done great things for us, whereof we are glad.' This was indeed a day never to be forgotten. There was not a little of the Spirit's presence and the Spirit's power, and thus began his ministry in the Free Church of Scotland." *

In connection with the services of that day, there occurred in one of the northern parishes a remarkable interposition of Providence, which must have made a deep impression on the surrounding population.

"At Rosehall, Sutherlandshire, the Established Church fell in on the first Sabbath after it had been vacated by the congregation. The whole area and pulpit were covered with slates, stones, and rubbish, which must have occasioned much loss of life if the congregation had been assembled, the church having fallen during the hours of the usual Sabbath service." †

It was one of those incidents which might not unnaturally have been viewed as ominous of evil, and interpreted by some to the disadvantage of the Established Church. But apart from all such views, the people had great reason for thankfulness to God on account of that providential care which had permitted them to worship in safety in their parish church up to the time when, under a sense of duty, they had been compelled to assemble elsewhere. Such an event in the history of the parish could not fail to leave a deep impression behind it.

* Memorials of the Rev. R. Craig, pp. 216-220.
† Parker Mss., Pres. of Dornoch.

## XIII. The Preaching of Churches Vacant.

After the removal of a minister by death or otherwise, the custom in Scotland is, that a member of Presbytery is sent on an early Sabbath to preach the church vacant, as it is termed—that is, to read at the close of the usual service a formal document announcing the vacancy. At the Disruption there was, of course, much of this kind of work to be done, and, not unfrequently, it was carried out under somewhat remarkable circumstances.

The difficulty in some cases was to get together an audience sufficient to witness the ceremony. At Langton, in Berwickshire, when Dr. Brown left, the member of Presbytery who came to preach, found it impossible to get a single parishioner to listen to him, and it was believed that he had to return without holding any service, or even reading the intimation at the church. What made the matter more noticeable was the circumstance, that a proclamation of banns had to be made that day, and the session-clerk found that no witnesses could be got to go near the church till the people had made sure that the representative of the Presbytery had fairly left the village, and was well on his way home.

At Bolton, in East-Lothian, when the day came, Mr. Abernethy was on his deathbed. The Presbytery had selected for the work one who formerly had professed non-intrusion principles. He "put the horse into the stable, and went to the minister's room to announce his mission. He then proceeded to the church, but the bell-man and precentor were absent, and not one individual appeared. In this extremity, he invited the hinds of a neighbouring farmer to be witnesses that the church was declared vacant, but they refused to come. He then insti-

tuted a search in the village, and at length lighted upon two old men, whom he invited to 'come this way,' who did not know what his purpose was. Taking his stand in front of the church, the rev. gentleman prayed, and before proceeding to read his document, said, 'Stop, I see a dressed man coming, perhaps he intends to hear sermon.' The dressed man, however, passed on, and the rev. gentleman read his paper. . . . In this case the parishioners have anticipated the Presbytery by saving them the trouble of declaring the church vacant."*

Throughout the North of Scotland there was much reluctance to engage in this work. It is believed, indeed, that in some cases it was never done, and in others, it was only after long delay. In the island of Lewis, it was the 3rd of September before a beginning was made by preaching vacant the church of Lochs. The minister of Stornoway, who was sent to officiate, had first himself to perform the office of beadle, and then conduct the service in presence of his own domestics—the ground officer of Stornoway and his manservant, the entire audience having been brought from a distance.†

At Sheildaig, the whole attendance consisted of three, only one of whom was a parishioner.‡

At Poolewe, the delegate of the Presbytery officiated to an audience of one—"his own gillie."§

At Killearnan, in Ross-shire, the attendance was more extensive, consisting of thirteen strangers and nine parishioners, five of whom belonged to one family. When the minister of Avoch arrived to do duty, it was found that there was no bell-rope, but a beam was procured, and with it the minister's man was "forked up" till his hand reached the residue of the rope, when the bell was rung, and the service went on.**

At Skirling,†† near Biggar, intimation had courteously been sent that service would be held at four o'clock, on Sabbath, 2nd July. In this way, "any of the parishioners who were at all anxious to be present had ample opportunity, as the Free Church service was over by two. Shortly after four o'clock the

* *Witness*, 21st June, 1843.
† *Ibid.* 20th September, 1843.
‡ *Ibid.* 26th August.
§ *Ibid.*
** *Ibid.* 19th July.
†† *Ibid.* 5th July, 1843.

Presbyterial delegate drove into the village, attended by his man, and from the turn out of the villagers at their doors, there was, no doubt, good reason to expect a well-filled church. The rev. gentleman alighted and took a turn back and forward on the green, expecting every moment to hear the bell summon the villagers to church; but the bell maintained an obstinate silence, and the people doggedly kept their places at their doors, and as he was unable to account for this anomalous conduct, he had recourse to the schoolmaster. 'Where's the beadle?' was at once asked. 'Oh! there's no beadle,' was the reply. 'Where's the precentor, then?' 'Oh! there's no precentor neither.' This was certainly very embarrassing; but the happy thought immediately struck the rev. gentleman that a precentor might be got among the congregation after they were met, and his own man might perform the important functions of beadle for a day. So Sandy got the Bible and the keys, and repaired to the church to open the pews and ring the bell, and the minister followed. Soon after he entered, the bell was seen by the watchful villagers to commence swinging with great vehemence. 'Come and see how the bell's gawin,' was the general cry; but the bell had just uttered five tolls, when, as if questioning Sandy's right to handle her so roughly, she suddenly and simultaneously became mute and motionless, without assigning reasons. Several vigorous jerks were then observed, but they made no impression on the bell; there it stood, and there it still remains perched on the top of the vestry, with its mouth turned upwards, and there it may remain till the residuary Presbytery appoint a committee to deal with it, *if haply it may be brought round.* What passed within the church is known to no human being but the minister and Sandy. The service, if any, could not have been very long, for, after about seven minutes, they were both seen to issue from the church in great haste. Sandy did not appear to relish the duties he had so lately undertaken, for, declaring he 'didna like the job ava,' he left the Bible to be lifted and the doors to be locked by any individual who chose to install himself into the office. 'We take you to witness,' said the minister to some of the parishioners as he passed, 'that we rung the bell and preached the church vacant.' 'We a'

witnessed the ringing o' the bell,' was the reply, 'but what was done in the kirk nane but your twa sel's can tell.'"

Sometimes untoward incidents occurred, and attracted notice. At Watten, Caithness, "the congregation adhered to the Free Church, and cheerfully followed their minister to worship in the fields; only two or three persons remained behind. . . . The minister who was appointed to intimate the vacancy was afraid he might not have the fragment of a flock to be hearers and witnesses on the occasion. A man was despatched on horseback to summon a few individuals, and urge them to be present in Watten Church on the Sabbath. This man's horse, on his homeward ride, fell; and, in consequence of the fall, died. A cartful of people were gathered in obedience to the above summons, and were proceeding to the church, but the horse also stumbled and fell, and did not long survive." *

Hugh Miller was in the North when the vacancy was declared at Resolis, and writes, 18th July:—"Mr. Sage was preached out on Sunday last, and, by dint of superhuman exertion among all the lairds, a congregation of thirty were brought together to see that he was; . . . and of the thirty, two whole individuals, a man and his wife, were stated hearers in the parish church. There could be found no one to ring the bell, and no one to be precentor, though twenty shillings were offered as remuneration; and a man and gig had to be sent rattling to Cromarty an hour ere service began, to procure both out of M'Kenzie's congregation. The story goes, that with the first tug the bellman gave, a swarm of angry bees came down about his ears with wrathful fizz, and that, to avoid their stings, he had to quit his hold and show them a clean pair of heels. The Moderates are in a perilous state, when every untoward incident that occurs is regarded as an omen, and interpreted to their disadvantage." †

It is not to be supposed that in all cases it was their adherence to the Free Church which led the people to absent themselves on these occasions. Even those who meant to adhere to the Establishment had in some instances so much of personal respect and regard for the outed minister, that they felt little inclination to witness the final act by which the last tie was

* Parker Mss., Rev. A. Gunn. † Life, vol. ii. 375.

formally severed. At the same time there can be no doubt that the specimens which we have given from widely separated districts of Scotland, represent truly the feelings which to a large extent pervaded the country, more especially in the North. For years the Moderate party, while refusing to abate their policy, had been calling aloud for peace; and in many a parish, while declaring the vacancy, it might well have seemed as if they had got their wish in the old Roman fashion—*Solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.*

## XIV. The Licensed Preachers of the Church.

One fact of great importance was the adherence to the cause of a numerous body of students and probationers. Already, in 1840, a memorial had been presented to the General Assembly by 107 students of divinity, intimating their resolution to maintain the principles for which the Church was contending. When the Convocation of November, 1842, drew near, a still more decided step was taken by a large body of probationers. It was well known that if the threatened Disruption took place, many parishes throughout Scotland would be left vacant, and the licensed preachers of the Church might well have looked forward to obtaining positions not only of comfort, but of influence. Unaffected by such considerations, a numerous band of young men resolved to cast in their lot with the outgoing ministers.

The Rev. W. Grant, soon afterwards settled at Ayr, narrates the rise of this movement. "The origin of the movement was as follows:—The Convocation of ministers having been summoned, I was strongly impressed by the conviction that the probationers who sympathised with the Evangelical party should be invited to meet to consider the propriety of issuing a public and united declaration of their approval of the principles contended for, and of their determination to adhere to those who maintained them.

"Being at that time assistant to Rev. Dr. Thomas Brown, of St. John's, Glasgow, I had occasion to walk home from church (I think after sermon on the Monday after the communion) with the Rev. Dr. Patrick M'Farlan, of Greenock. I availed myself of the opportunity to ask his opinion of my idea. I well remember the warm manner in which he gave it his

hearty approval, encouraging me to proceed. His son, then his assistant, has often afterwards assured me, that nothing had more encouraged his father to face the difficulties of those days than the helpful and hearty spirit with which so large a body of probationers entered into this movement.

"Encouraged by Dr. M'Farlan's kind words, I wrote to my dear friend, John M'Farlan, to come and consult with me in regard to the matter. . . . Having met and formed our plan of procedure, we invited the only probationers we knew of in the neighbourhood who sympathised with us to join in calling a meeting of probationers to be held in Glasgow. These were Eric Findlater, now Free Church minister at Lochearnhead, Andrew Cunningham, now Free Church minister at Eccles, and Rev. James Porteous, now minister of Free Church at Ballantrae. . . . It is important to observe that this was the origin of the movement of the probationers, inasmuch as it shows that this movement was their spontaneous act. It was not at the call nor by the suggestion of ministers that it was begun; and, as Dr. Chalmers' letter . . . in the minute-book proves, the movement was persisted in although cold water was thrown on it by some of the ministers of the Evangelical party, and much dissuasion and cajolery was employed by many ministers who then belonged to that party, but who at last stayed in. Though Mr. M'Farlan and I only knew of three probationers already named as sympathising with our views, yet by consultation with them, and with others whom they knew, our list speedily began to increase. Responding to our first circular, 28 probationers assembled in Glasgow to our first general meeting, and 19, who could not attend, sent in letters approving of the proposal to call a convocation of probationers. At the convocation of probationers in Edinburgh on 14th December, 1842, our numbers had increased to between 70 and 80. And 192 gave in their names to the first General Assembly of the Free Church. . . .

"I remember that we then estimated that there were about 500 probationers who held licenses in the Established Church. Many of these had become teachers or farmers, or were employed in other secular callings. Besides, our difficulty was to

ascertain who were likely to sympathise with us. I think we must have corresponded with considerably above 200 probationers.

"I wish I could have gone over the names, . . . marking their subsequent history or steadfastness. This I have not leisure to attempt, but many of their names are now well known as holding, or as having held, prominent places in the Free Church. Some have fallen away from their profession, but most of them have laboured faithfully amid the quiet of their own congregations. I can unhesitatingly say that, with one exception, I never heard any of them express regret for the step they then took."*

The meeting of Convocation on the evening of 23rd November, at which the preachers were received, was one of the most interesting diets of that Assembly. Complete unanimity had just been reached in regard to the terms of the address to be sent to Government along with the resolutions. Men were rejoicing in the fact that the last trace of diversity of opinion had disappeared, when the probationers were introduced. They were represented by a deputation consisting of Mr. Grant, Mr. John M'Farlan (now of Greenock), Mr. Islay Burns (afterwards Professor), Mr. Patrick Muirhead (now of Kippen), Mr. William Makellar (afterwards of Pencaitland), and others. After a short address from Mr. Grant, stating the substance of the memorial which they had come to present, Mr. M'Cheyne offered up the prayer which made so deep an impression on the House. In name of the Convocation, Dr. M'Farlan, of Greenock, gave a warm welcome to the preachers. Dr. Cunningham also spoke, and congratulated them on the honest and manly course which they had taken, and assured them that no effort would be spared in order to provide opportunities of usefulness. He referred with much interest to the fact that Dr. M'Farlan, who had himself done so much, and was ready to sacrifice so much for the principles of the Church, had now a son standing in the front rank of the rising generation.

During the following month (14th December) a general meeting of the preachers was held in Edinburgh, and passed

* Narrative by Rev. W. Grant, of Ayr, Dis. Mss.

still more decided resolutions. How cordially the movement was welcomed may be seen from a communication written by Dr. Candlish, in name of the committee of Convocation, and addressed on their behalf to the meeting of probationers. "We heartily welcome the accession to our number of so many ardent and youthful spirits ready to make common cause and cast in their lot with us in this time of trial; and as we have already taken encouragement from the reflection that, among the adherents to the resolutions which have been adopted, we may reckon so large a proportion of aged and venerable servants of Christ, whose lengthened ministry has been that of men willing to spend and be spent for Christ's sake and the Gospel's, and who now, drawing near the close of life, have not hesitated to put their earthly all in peril for the great love they bear to His kingly throne and His free Church; so, on the other hand, we cannot but be cheered by the prospect of so goodly a company of the youth of our Zion—worthy, as we trust, to be the children of these men of God in spirit, as some of you are in the flesh—coming forward in the fresh prime and enthusiasm of opening manhood to take up in active service the testimony to which these fathers have consecrated the prayers and patience of their declining years. . . .

"We are well aware of the sacrifices which many of you may be called to make of worldly prospects of advancement which hitherto you have been warranted in cherishing, and remembering well our own sentiments and feelings when we were in your position, and being fully aware of the exaggerated value which hope is ever apt to set on untried good, we can well imagine that it may be in some respects more difficult and painful for you to forego those rewards of honourable ambition which the influential position of an Establishment holds out, than for us to relinquish them after having proved what is in them. In all these elements which must mingle with your deliberations, we assure you of our earnest sympathy; and we cannot but regard it as a noble and generous spectacle, fitted to tell on an age incredulous of the reality of great principle, if a considerable body of the pious and devoted candidates for the ministry among us, who otherwise might have commanded the highest

prizes of their profession, and might have found, perhaps, some plausible plea to justify their silence at least, if not their submission, shall be found fearlessly speaking out on the side of truth and integrity—willing to go forth unto Christ without the camp, bearing His reproach."*

When the Assembly came, it was found that 192 probationers gave in their names as having resolved to take part in the Church's trials and toils ; and it soon appeared that the devoted band were all too few for the many fields of usefulness which the adherence of the people opened up in all districts of the country.

* *Witness* Newspaper, 28th December, 1842.

## XV. Leaving the Manse.

It is remarkable that so many of the ministers have said nothing as to the actual removal. Only they who have known the quiet happiness of these manses can tell what sadness there was in parting from the old home, and the pain of recalling that time of trial may have been one reason why the circumstances have been passed over in so many of the narratives. In other cases, however, such feelings have evidently been lost in the far higher thoughts which filled the mind. "Is it not difficult to give up all this?" the writer asked Mr. Mellis, of Tealing, as we were walking round his garden, three weeks before the Disruption. The spring flowers were bursting into beauty, the manse and its surroundings were bright in the morning sun. "No," he replied; "I am thankful to feel that I have something to give up for Christ."

In the same frame of mind, Dr. Duncan, of Ruthwell, "took joyfully" the actual leaving of his manse. "On the previous evening his eldest son and two little grandsons had arrived to look again at the birthplace of one and a scene which he wished the other two to remember if they should live to be old. On the next day we had agreed to meet and eat our last mid-day meal in the dear old parlour, which for forty-three years had witnessed much hospitality and kindness. But Dr. Duncan and his son had gone to look after the workmen at the rising church. Noon, one, two, three o'clock passed. We were in despair it would be night. The people who were working suggested the idea that he could not bear to take leave of the house, and did not mean to return. We dined without them, and the last chair was placed on the cart, when, cheerful and hungry, they returned to the door of the dismantled dwelling. A message

from a sick man had drawn them to a distance of eight miles, and, little occupied about where or how he should be lodged, he had pursued his ministerial work as if no removal had been in the way. Yet he was bent on making the best of our discomforts. Next morning, when he found rain pouring into our new pantry, he returned quietly to the home of his early happiness to bring a bit of lead, which he had observed in the rubbish of the garret, that with it he might stop the hole that was adding to our discomfort. We smiled at the incident, as proving how far they were mistaken who thought he indulged in anything like sentimental sorrow for what he had resigned." * [Dr. Duncan was at that time nearly seventy years of age.]

On the part of many besides Dr. Duncan there is little disposition to make much of these trials. Mr. Thomson, of Muckhart, dismisses them as briefly as possible. His "experience in connection with the change has not been one of special trial. The last sermon to my old flock, the roup, and the flitting, no doubt, were trying enough, but these were trials common to nearly all." † So, also, at Walls, in Shetland, Mr. Elder quietly remarks: "The circumstance of leaving a comfortable manse, and coming to a cold, damp house, was a little trial to myself and family," ‡ and then he goes on to speak of his mercies.

Others, who were not less willing for the sacrifice, yet seem to have felt more keenly the breaking of the local tie. "After the business of the Assembly was over," says Dr. M'Lauchlan, "and the deed of demission signed, I returned home, and perhaps the greatest pain I suffered connected with the Disruption was as I walked down from the coach to the manse, and realised that the tie between me and this place, where I was born and bred, and which I had latterly done much to beautify, was now for ever at an end. The pain was but momentary, but it was severe, for I have by nature a strong attachment to places." §

"I write at the distance of six years from the Disruption," says Mr. Taylor, of Flisk, "and every time I look back I am

* Dis. Mss. xvi. pp. 8, 9.
† *Ibid.* xxviii. p. 8.
‡ *Ibid.* xviii. p. 1.
§ *Ibid.* xlix. p. 9.

filled with thankfulness to God for the part He led me to act at that trying time. No regrets or longings even for the temporalities have ever disquieted my mind. The only time I felt somewhat overcome was in the evening of leaving the manse, when, having sent every person and thing away, I remained behind, and the empty house resounded to the departing tread, and I turned the key on the outer door, and my back upon the house and church, in which I had hoped to have spent years of usefulness and happiness, and as the shadows of evening were falling thickly and gloomily, so also did the uncertainties of the future. But these were passing feelings. They soon gave place to brighter feelings when I considered the blessed results which God speedily brought out of the Disruption to this neighbourhood." *

Family ties, as might have been expected, often gave additional sadness to the act of parting. Of Mr. Martin, Bathgate, it is said: "After the Assembly of 1843, he returned to the manse, in which nearly twenty of the most eventful years of his life had been spent, and began to prepare for leaving it. How little the mere spectators of these manse-quittings could understand the wounds thereby made on some of the strongest and most homely affections of our nature. There was the study, where his soul had been ripening both in heavenly and earthly knowledge, and there he had borne his people so often on his heart before God ('If you knew what prayers were offered up for you in the study,' said a domestic to one of his people, 'how you would prize the minister'); the garden, where, year after year, he had watched the growth of trees planted by his own hand, and tended the large white daisies which he had brought from the manse garden of Kirkcaldy (years after, when passing with him one bright moonlight night, he said, 'Well, you may smile, but I felt it hard in 1843 to leave these trees'); and the home into which he had brought the beloved wife of his youth, and which had become the home of his children. . . . The procession from the manse was touching enough. The elder children and furniture had been sent on before; Mrs. Martin followed, with her fifth boy, William, in her arms; and her husband walked

* Dis. Mss. xxxvii. p. 12.

beside her with the large family Bible under his arm. 'We hoped that we would not meet any one,' said Mrs. Martin, afterwards, 'as we could not have spoken.' They moved along in silence to the small upper flat which they had rented, and which was the only dwelling they could then obtain. The prayer that night at the household altar told of a soul at liberty, and satisfied with God for a portion." *

Mr. Findlater, of Durness, writes, on 20th July, 1843: "I could not possibly leave the manse till a fortnight ago, waiting an opportunity of conveying my furniture and part of my family by sea, from near the shores of Cape Wrath to Thurso, and my wife and the younger branches of my family by land, being a distance of at least 70 miles. Not a house or hut could be got nearer for their accommodation. I have taken a room in the only inn in the district, where I at present sojourn. . . . My feelings, and those of my family, on leaving the manse, after a residence of thirty-one years, I cannot describe. Though painful in some respects, yet I trust it was a willing sacrifice. . . . Jehovah-Jireh is a strong tower. . . . My wife was born in the manse she lately left empty, left two of our children's dust behind, and accompanied by six, all hitherto unprovided for, to sojourn among strangers, has displayed a moral heroism which is soothing to my feelings." †

The flitting at Kilsyth is very simply noticed: "June 14th.—Returned home [from the settlement of his son, Dr. Islay Burns, at Dundee]. Found the manse vacated, as expected—the removal having been completed on the evening preceding. On passing from the canal boat, went into the manse—not quite sure how matters were. Found emptiness. Mrs. Rankin, of Boynbie, and Mrs. Kennedy, both friendly, were there, who were much moved at the unusual meeting. The family were comfortably located in our hired house, Charles Street—all well after the fatigues of flitting. . . . Twenty-three years in the manse left; in manse of Dun, eighteen years. Psalm cxix. 9: 'I am a stranger in the earth: hide not thy commandments from me.' . . . *Slept sound in the new lodgings.*" ‡

* Memoirs, p. 117. † *Witness* Newspaper, 25th October, 1843.
‡ Dis. Mss. xxix. p. 11.

Mr. Duncan, of Cleish, states: "I left the Manse of Cleish on the Monday immediately succeeding the General Assembly, and after all my family had been despatched to the apartments prepared for them at Kinross, three miles off, and the last cart was nearly loaded with the remaining furniture, I entered my dismantled study for the last time, and on looking around me, with feelings which I shall not attempt to describe, I saw one of the little printed tickets which I was in the habit of using in the Sabbath School lying on the mantelpiece. Impressed with the idea that the texts which it contained might be charged with a message suited to the solemn occasion, I lifted it, and read the following verses:—'But seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all things shall be added unto you,' Matt. vi. 33. 'But my God shall supply all your need according to his riches in glory by Christ Jesus,' Phil. iv. 19. That ticket, I need hardly say, I have carefully preserved, notwithstanding the dingy appearance which, in consequence of passing through so many hands, it had come to bear. The words came on my heart like a voice from heaven." *

At Latheron, Mr. Davidson writes: "The last load of furniture being despatched, I deliberately visited every room in the house for the last time, with very solemn feelings, and then took my departure—locking the door, and sending the key to the nearest proprietor—never, in all probability, to enter it again. That I felt this to be a very trying moment I have no wish to conceal. The loss of my stipend—which was the largest in the county (except the towns), and that of the glebe, which was of the same description, and upon which I had expended fully £200 in enclosing and subdividing it by stone fences, and otherwise ornamenting it—scarcely gave me a passing thought; for I believed we should be provided for, though by more limited means; and to this I felt perfectly willing to submit. But the leaving of the residence where I had lived for so many years, and in which I had enjoyed so much comfort and happiness, mingled, no doubt, with occasional heavy afflictions, did indeed deeply affect me at the time. Still, upon entering the cottage, where all things were speedily set in order, I felt cheered in

* Dis. Mss. xii. p. 2.

contrasting my own lot with that of many of my less favoured brethren, who were far worse accommodated; and especially that of the Saviour Himself, who, though Creator of all things, had not where to lay His head. With these reflections, we united in pouring out our hearts to God in grateful thanksgiving for enabling us to pass through this trying ordeal, and in committing ourselves to His fatherly protection for the future." *

Another remarkable case was that of Dr. Grierson, of Errol: "My stipend was one of the largest belonging to a country charge; my family was rather numerous; . . . their education being not only unfinished, but, in the case of the younger members, not advanced beyond its earlier stages; while the length of time that we had enjoyed the advantages of a liberal income . . . all served to increase the painfulness of the sacrifice which, from a sense of duty, we were constrained to make. I hope I shall be excused when I add that the external amenities of the home which for more than twenty years I had been seeking to improve, together with the richness and splendour of the extensive landscape of which it commanded a view, did not give it so strong a hold on my heart as that which it possessed from being the birthplace of all my children—the scenes of all their youthful joys and sorrows—and the house of mourning, from which I had successively conveyed the mortal remains of nearly one-half of their whole number to that resting-place on which my eye used to fall from Sabbath to Sabbath as I entered the house of God.

"When the last cart-load of furniture was despatched, and while the vehicle which was to convey my family to their new residence was getting ready, I went out, and took a last turn round my garden walks, and a farewell gaze on the scenery which I had so often viewed with admiration and delight. On returning, I went through every room and apartment of the house, as if to gather up the endearing or interesting associations with which they were connected. All was empty and desolate—the last fire was extinguished on the blackened hearth. The younger part of my family had entered the vehicle, but my

* Dis. Mss., Latheron, p. 3.

partner, waiting to enter it when all was ready to move, had sat down exhausted on the lower steps of the stair—the only seat then to be found. I raised her up, and placed her beside her children, and having locked the door behind her, I gave the key to the person who had been appointed to receive it. As the road at first was somewhat steep, I walked for some distance, . . . but looked not back with any desire to remain. I felt as if I heard the words of the prophet: 'Arise ye, and depart: for this is not your rest,' Micah ii. 10." *

The effect of these manse-flittings in a district cannot be understood without knowing what manner of men they were who sacrificed their all, and what place they held in the affections of the people. The Rev. Angus M'Millan was a native of Glen Sannox, in Arran, and working at his trade for self-support, had fought his way through a regular course at the University of Glasgow, studied divinity in Edinburgh, was licensed and appointed in 1812 to Lochranza, in Arran, a mission station, supported by the Duchess of Hamilton, where his income, without house or glebe, was £34 a-year. There he found himself in the midst of a remarkable revival, which spread over a large portion of the island, and of which he afterwards wrote an account. Of this movement he was for many years the centre, and his usefulness was still more marked when, in 1821, at the urgent entreaty of the people, he was presented to the parish of Kilmory. From 1821 to 1843 his ministry was greatly blessed, and when the day of trial came, he was found faithful. The leaving of the manse has been described by his early and attached friend, the Rev. A. Macbride, of North Bute:—

"The aged minister, his locks thin and silvery, his countenance pale and placid, his frame frail and emaciated, his whole appearance betokening a man who had seen length of service in his Master's vineyard, and . . . who had faithfully borne the burden and heat of many an anxious day, looked on till room after room was dismantled, and cart after cart had wound down by the side of the old churchyard, as calm and composed as if no change were taking place in his circumstances; and when the last cart returned to take himself away, he asked if all were ready. Being

* Dis. Mss. xi. p. 8.

told it was, 'Well, come in for a little; and entering the empty parlour which for twenty-two years had been his sitting-room, his study, and his sanctuary, he said, 'Let us pray.' The prayer chiefly consisted of adoration and praise, but towards the conclusion he earnestly implored that the same goodness and mercy which had hitherto followed them, might follow them till they reached the house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. When engaged in prayer, he was frequently interrupted by the sobs of those around him; and once he was himself so overcome that he had to pause. When he finished prayer, he walked out of the house with his usual step, and having been assisted into the cart, he proceeded to the little thatched cottage at Clachaig, which devoted friendship had prepared for his reception—a cottage which he was soon to exchange for a mansion in his Father's house." *

Among the aged fathers of the Church, there were some whose great anxiety arose from a fear lest the hand of death should overtake them in the old manse, and so prevent the completeness of their testimony to the principles of the Free Church. There were three instances in which the wish of their hearts in this respect was denied. One was Mr. Abernethy, of Bolton, in East Lothian, a godly minister, "held in the greatest respect by all the brethren in the Presbytery and the people generally in the district. His health began to decline in the spring of 1843, and it was soon ascertained that he was labouring under an internal malady from which there was little or no prospect of recovery. . . . The parish church was preached vacant a few Sabbaths before his death, or, rather, was pronounced vacant, for no audience could be got to witness the ceremony." † He died in the manse, after severe suffering, on the 26th July, 1843, in the sixty-third year of his age.

A similar case was that of Mr. Logan, of Eastwood, born in 1759, a distinguished classical scholar at the University of Glasgow, and presented, at the instance of the celebrated Dr. Balfour, to the parish of Eastwood. He had proved himself a minister eminently learned and devoted in his Master's service. "His age had prevented his taking part in the struggles of the

* Parker Mss., Rev. A. M'Millan. † *Ibid.* Pres. of Haddington.

'Ten Years' Conflict,' but he warmly espoused the cause of the Church. There were not wanting friends who endeavoured to turn the aged servant of the Lord aside from the path of duty, alleging that it could not be expected that, at his age, lying, as he was, on a bed of languishing, he should leave the house where he had lived so long. He replied that he was simply obeying his Master—discharging a plain duty which love to his Lord demanded. In the spring of 1843 a friend [the Rev. Mr. Gemmell, of Fairlie] preached for him, and after sermon went in to see him, now confined entirely to bed, and began to speak with him on the perils of the Church. 'Yes,' said Mr. Logan, 'but I trust we shall at all hazards maintain the spiritual rights of our Zion. When Cæsar was crossing the Adriatic in a small vessel, the boatman hesitated and was afraid. Cæsar said, "*Ne timeas, Cæsarem vehis*" (Fear not, you carry Cæsar). Much more reason have we to say, "*Nil timendum Christo duce*"' (There is nothing to be feared with Christ for our leader). The old man, in repeating these words, elevated himself in bed, and, having pronounced them with a firm voice, immediately sank back, and laid his head upon the pillow, breathless and exhausted with the effort." "He died on the 2nd day of July, 1843, in the eighty-fifth year of his age and the fifty-eighth of his ministry."*

The third case was that of Dr. Ross, of Lochbroom. "When the Disruption came, he was very earnest as to sending up his signature and having it added to the Deed of Demission, and himself enrolled as a minister of the Free Church. He was anxious also to follow up the step by removing as soon as possible from the old manse. But what was to be done? . . . To attempt to remove him, even to the nearest house, would manifestly endanger his life. . . . God in His gracious providence solved the difficulty. He died in the old manse of Lochbroom, a sufferer from paralysis, on the 21st day of July, 1843, before the arrangements which were begun for his reception in another place could be completed. He expired in the seventy-fifth year of his age and fortieth of his ministry."†

Similar interest attaches to the case of Mr. Ferguson, of

* Parker Mss., Rev. G. Logan. † *Ibid.* Pres. of Lochbroom.

Marytown, near Montrose. He had been minister of the parish for about fifty years, and was from the first an adherent of the Evangelical minority in the Church at a time when it was weak in numbers. He cheerfully demitted his civil status as a parish minister at the Disruption. Not being able, from age and infirmity, to go to Edinburgh to sign the Deed of Demission, his signature was taken in his own manse a few weeks after the Disruption. Aware of his intention, two of his copresbyters called upon him, and urged him to remain in the Establishment, especially pressing his advanced age and the hardship of leaving his manse at his period of life; that in his circumstances none could reasonably expect this of him, and offering their services to get an assistant who should be acceptable to him. "He told me," says his son, "that he replied to them, 'I cannot abandon the principles I have held, or separate from the friends with whom I have acted through life.' The circumstances of his death were these:—The farm-house of Baldovie (the birthplace of Andrew Melville, and scene of his youth) was fitted up for his reception. On the day preceding his death, he left his manse, intending that evening to take up his abode at Baldovie, after spending a few hours at Marytown farm-house, which is about half-way between the manse and Baldovie. Here he was taken suddenly ill, and died next day at ten P.M." *

In connection with these "flittings" from the manse there occur, as was natural, various references to the minister's wife, on whom so much of the trial fell. Those opposed to the Church in her contendings calculated largely on men giving way out of feelings of regard for wife and children. In the last Strathbogie case, pled before the Court of Session in January, 1843, Mr. Hope, the Dean of Faculty—by no means given to the melting mood—grew pathetic as he appealed to the ministers of the Church, urging them to have regard to "the imploring looks and tearful eyes of their wives and children." He little knew those of whom he spoke. In many a manse, when the hour of trial came, the faith of the wife was at least as fearless as that of the husband. At Lesmahagow, Mrs.

* Parker Mss., Pres. of Brechin.

Parker writes, in that same month of January: "So far as I can judge, . . . the Church in her present struggles is doing no more than her duty to her great Head; and I trust she may be strengthened to go boldly forward. . . . No doubt the sword of power is against her, and, to all human appearances, about to fall on her; but that is no reason why any of her faithful ministers should swerve from the principles for which their fathers suffered. . . . I trust you will give me credit for being sincere in what I say. . . . No one values more than I do my present comforts, and few are less qualified for making sacrifices and enduring hardships, and sometimes my very heart is sore when I look at my dear children; but I trust that God in His providence may prepare a place for us—a sphere of duty where my dearest husband may exercise those gifts with which God has endowed him." Thus wrote the wife and mother, when the prospect was looking dark; and then, two months later, she returns to it: "Every day that passes only shows more clearly the necessity there is for leaving the Establishment. Oh! I hope it may issue in the purification of the Church, and the enlargement of our Redeemer's kingdom. We cannot look forward to be here now (I mean, in this house) much beyond May, and we are looking out for another. . . . I am expecting my aunt and sister next week, to take farewell of the manse." *

Dr. N. Paterson, of Glasgow, mentions an anecdote connected with the Convocation: "I was much strengthened by a conversation with an old college acquaintance, and now a faithful minister in the city of Aberdeen. We had spoken of the number of our children, and with respect to his own family he said —'If we are driven out we shall be as poor as any wanderers on nature's common, but I had a letter from my wife this morning, and she exhorts me to stand true, Give up all for Christ, and your peace shall flow like a river.'" †

In the manse of Farr, when the prospects of the Church were getting dark, Mrs. Mackenzie lay on her dying bed, "with seven children all unprovided for." "About nineteen months

* Dis. Mss. xxxi. pp. 7-9.

† *Witness* Newspaper, 7th December, 1842.

before the Disruption," her husband states, "it pleased the Lord to remove my wife by death, depriving me of a most affectionate and dutiful partner, and our children of one of the best of mothers. I trust it will not be considered irrelevant to mention here in regard to my wife that she felt a deep interest in the great Church question. That day on the evening of which she died, we had a prayer meeting in reference to the proceedings in the West Church of Edinburgh in August, 1841, and although exceedingly weak and much pained, yet quite collected, she insisted on my attending the meeting in church, and not to leave it until we concluded, unless she sent for me. But although the separation, after a union of twenty-five years, was to me and the children most painful, yet, when the Disruption came, I saw much of the Lord's goodness toward my partner, in removing her from the trials and privations which I with my children had to bear, as, from her delicate health, she could not so well endure them." *

One more example we give to show what brave hearts were in many of those manses. The Rev. Roderick M'Leod states: "When many were pleading with ministers the argument *ad misericordiam* to dissuade them from the final and decisive step out of regard to their wives and children, she [Mrs. M'Leod] wrote to her husband to Edinburgh, encouraging him to hold on in the course before him, adding that when some of her neighbours came to condole with her on her prospects, she having at the time twelve children entirely dependent on a scanty income, 'I got courage to tell them that I would rather hear of your death than of your denying your principles.' Truly she was a wife that did her husband good and not evil, all the days of her life." †

* Dis. Mss. xx. p. 2. † Parker Mss., Rev. R. M'Leod.

## XVI. Reasons for going out as given by Ministers at the time.

The Disruption was now complete: stipend, church, and manse had been given up. We shall speak of the hardships which followed the sacrifice; but before doing so, some account must be given of the reasons which led men thus to abandon the Establishment. There has been much debate as to what were the true grounds of the Disruption. It would surely be best to let men speak for themselves, not merely the great leaders, but still more those ministers who took little part in the controversy, and whose statements were written down in their quiet homes either in 1843 or shortly afterwards.

Although the Deed of Demission was signed, as we have seen, firmly and without a murmur, and though the sacrifice brought its own satisfaction and relief, yet there are not a few statements in the Disruption Mss. which show the inward struggle through which many had to pass before the resolution was finally taken.

Thus a young minister wrote at the time—Mr. Stewart, of Aberdeen, who soon afterwards died, in early manhood, to the grief of many: "How many overpowering associations crowd on one's mind when thinking of leaving the Establishment The Established Church of Scotland has been to me an object of idolatry. To be one of its ministers, to be received into the goodly company of its pastors, and set upon one of its watch-towers, was long the very crown of my ambition. And now, to be told that on account of the very principles which constitute its peculiar glory, and in my estimation always did so, I must quit the position to which, though most unworthy, I have been raised, goes to my very heart. How grievously our Legislators

misunderstand us. . . . I love my country. . . . I would die for her hoary institutions, and yet I am told that I am an enemy to order and social happiness." *

Dr. John Bonar, then of Larbert, states his own feelings and those of many others in view of the sacrifice: "Already poverty and destitution stare every minister in the face who will hold to the noble place which, by the grace of God, the Church has taken. Family, friends, dependant relatives, sickness, death, destitution, neglect, rise oft to the fancy. . . . Do people think we are not men? Do they think we are not men of like passions? Do they not know the weakness of human nature, and with such fightings without and fears—not for ourselves, but for what shall come on *them* who are more to us than ourselves on the earth—within, do they not think we eminently need the sympathies and prayers of all? But higher interests are at stake. 'Take heed to the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers.' This swallows up everything else." †

Dr. Buchanan, of Glasgow, addressing his brethren in the Convocation, said that "the thought of a Voluntary Church was to him as darkness; but the pillar of fire would be there, and he would go as led."

Dr. Gordon, of Edinburgh, declared, "I do it most unwillingly, I am compelled by a force far more terrible to me than the baton of the constable, or the musket of the soldier—I am compelled by my conscience."

It has been the dream of many that the leaders of this movement were recklessly determined to urge on their own ambitious designs, and that their followers were hurried along under the impulse of blind partisanship. Nothing can be more fallacious.

On the part of the leaders, it is recorded that when Lord Aberdeen came forward with what professed to be a healing measure, "a friend, calling on another Church leader, found Dr. Cunningham and him going over the Bill. The former [Dr. C.] was in the deepest anxiety, and again and again

* Parker Mss., Rev. J. Stewart.

† Reasons for Religious People, &c., by the Rev. J. Bonar, p. 8.

returned to the Bill to pore over its clauses, as if he could not make up his mind to the cruel conviction that it kept carefully short of the essential and indispensable provisions, and that all the consequences of rejecting it must be faced." *

At the time of the Convocation, Dr. Candlish publicly declared that the position of the Church had not been hastily taken up: "On the contrary, I will say for myself, and for many of my fathers and brethren, that it is a position which we have most reluctantly taken, against the necessity of which we defended and guarded ourselves by all kinds of argument, and to which we shrank from committing ourselves. . . . But now, not of our own seeking, for God knows that we have sought anything but this, we have listened to every proposition, to every suggestion but this, we have been ready to conciliate, I fear we have been ready to compromise,—not of our own seeking, then, but in the leadings of God's providence, and by the teaching of His Spirit, we have again got that glorious watchword with which our fathers were so familiar." †

In regard to the more retiring country ministers, it is certain that never were there men who had greater reason to look narrowly to the grounds on which they were called to act; and we find them accordingly giving to the whole subject the most conscientious and thoughtful consideration. "I felt," Mr. Mackenzie, of Farr, writes after the Convocation, "the necessity of close application in private study, . . . especially in reference to the Supreme Headship of Christ. I felt the necessity of closer attention than ever to this infinitely important subject, as brought to light in the Scriptures, and, as stated, illustrated, and confirmed in the writings of godly witnesses in England and Scotland, who, for their adherence to the Redeemer in His Divine Headship over His Church, suffered persecution, imprisonment, and death. I felt the necessity of this, and that, by the Divine blessing, I might obtain to greater clearness and a firmer faith. . . . I have to confess, that in such exercises I felt much satisfaction." ‡

Mr. Mather, of Stanley, states: "I was led to reflect much

* Life of Dr. Cunningham, p. 152. Note by Dr. Rainy.

† *Witness*, 26th November, 1842. ‡ Dis. Mss. xx. p. 3.

on the great principles that were involved in the controversy, and to feel that no Church which abandoned these principles for the sake of secular advantage could expect the Divine blessing. And as the controversy proceeded, all hopes of an honourable and scriptural settlement of the question being taken away, my way was hedged in, like that of my brethren, to leave the Establishment. . . . It was a solemn season, and I often felt deeply awed and impressed during the Convocation, at the Disruption; and most of all, while signing the Deed of Demission, at the honour put on me, His unworthy servant, by my Divine Lord, in making me a witness for His truth." *

The results of such consideration appear in various statements which we meet with in the narratives.

Dr. Moody Stuart, of Edinburgh, presents the Bible aspect of the great question that was involved in the struggle: "While preaching in the district of Strathbogie," he says, "the labour and exposure had brought on a severe affection of the throat, for which I was ordered to Madeira. . . . Distance, time, quiet, sickness had altered or modified many of my thoughts. . . . In the silent retrospect of life, with the prospect of a possibly near eternity, much that had seemed first was now last, and the last was first; but the truth and magnitude of our Church's testimony to the Headship of Christ over His own house—even unto separation from the State—had only stood forth in greater clearness. After every deduction for the elements of earth that had mingled in the conflict, the great principles looked still greater than before, and the broad lines of procedure more brightly shone upon by the Word, by grace, and by Providence." †

His testimony was made yet more distinct by a brief address, delivered in remarkable circumstances: "The first verses of the 23rd of Luke were read and explained. Christ's kingdom is in the world, yet not of the world: the Church is subject and responsible to Him alone in the appointment and removal of pastors, and in the entire rule and discipline of His house. And she is unfaithful to her Head if she resigns that trust to

* Dis. Mss. v. pp. 2, 3.

† Life of the Last Duchess of Gordon, p. 263.

any other, or executes it at the command of the highest power on earth. Nor was the question a light one, since on it had hinged the death of our blessed Lord Himself. This truth was not the end for which He died, but it was the turning-point of His death. It was the good confession He had witnessed before Pilate, and it was because He would not retract His declaration that He was a King, that He was led to crucifixion. *If this truth was great enough for our Master to suffer death for declaring it, it could not be too little for us to accept as a ground of suffering, of imprisonment, or of death itself.*" *

Mr. Thomson, of Muckhart, was clerk to the Presbytery of Auchterarder, and, as was natural, he dwells on the legal and constitutional aspects of the question. Almost from the outset of the great lawsuit he had anticipated an adverse result. One circumstance which specially prepared his mind for the Disruption "was a clear exhibition of the hopelessness of our position, unless we were to prove traitors to Christ, brought before us at a private meeting of the brethren, held under St. George's Church in August, 1842, by our valued friend, Mr. John Hamilton, advocate, when he directed our attention to the circumstance, that all the decisions of the Supreme Civil Court rested in reality, not upon a rigid interpretation of the various Statutes, but upon this: 'There cannot be an *imperium in imperio.*' The whole truth, the peril, the hopelessness of our position then fully flashed upon my mind, and I saw the certainty of the coming event." †

Three years after the event, Dr. Burns, of Kilsyth, reviews his position. He is not insensible to the sacrifice he has made: "The breaking up of intercourse with the gentry of the vicinity, the loss of a commodious manse, where, for twenty-three years, much comfort was enjoyed, a good glebe of ten acres, a living of about £300 per annum, an elegant church, a status in society, &c.;" but he adds: "What is all this compared with the approba-

* Life of the Last Duchess of Gordon, p. 269.

† Diss. Mss. xxviii. p. 3. This view, asserting the supremacy of the civil power over both the civil and spiritual spheres, goes much deeper, it will be seen, than anything merely connected with the Patronage Act as an individual statute.

tion of conscience, and the peace of God keeping the heart and mind, the honour of taking a part in upholding the Crown rights of the Lord Jesus Christ, and of co-operating with the best of the ministers and elders in this land, the freedom from the most galling yoke of servitude being forced upon us, and last, not least, deliverance from the incubus and unequal yoking of what has been called Moderatism, impeding us in every spiritual and zealous movement, hedging us up from every attempt to benefit the poor people of any conterminous district. The incongruous union has continued by far too long, and coalition in future cannot be contemplated as possible." *

The sermon which Dr. Sievewright, of Markinch, addressed to his congregation on the first Sabbath after the Disruption will show how vigorously those country ministers, who took but little part in the conflict, were able to think and speak on the great questions at issue. "What doest thou here, Elijah?" was the text from which he addressed his people. "We are not willingly here. Nothing short of a great moral necessity has severed ties long and fondly cherished, involving an amount of sacrifice the incredulous world did reckon far beyond . . . our limited virtue to attain, . . . to renounce what toiling industry pants to acquire—a desirable home, an honourable competency, a certain and sufficient provision for life, together with an official position which, unless misconduct disgraces it, has usually commanded respect."

But, turning to the parishioners, he repeats the question, "What doest thou here?—here, in this limited and incommodious place, that little resembles a place of worship, and has many ideas associated with its ordinary uses that ill accord with the sanctity we fondly attach to a temple. Hard by, too, stands an edifice of more seemly appearance, . . . of old consecrated to the rites of Divine worship. There your fathers adored their fathers' God. There yourselves and your children were baptised into the faith and privileges of the Christian Church. There many of you have kept solemn holy days. . . . And is it, brethren, to you no sacrifice to turn your backs on so hallowed a spot, endeared by tokens of a Divine presence, by

* Dis. Mss. xxix. pp. 29, 30.

recollections of the living, and of the dead who sleep round its ancient tower, waiting for the restitution of all things? We are not here by a willing and costless transition. Wherefore, then, have we come? A great moral necessity enforced our removal. . . . The day has come when the Church Established has forfeited a just pretension to be regarded as the Church of Scotland, because she has departed from that Church's constitution and principles in two leading particulars—the supremacy of Christ as actual and acting Head of the Church, and the spiritual independence of the Church, which is His body. The regal supremacy of Christ is a doctrine written as with a sunbeam on many a page of Scripture. . . . His kingdom is not of this world, as Himself witnessed before Pilate; but yet that He was a King, and had a kingdom, He shunned not to avow in the presence of that imperious Roman. And if this be so—if Christ is living Head of the Church, and reigning King of Zion—what recognition and reverence are due to His Majesty, what respect and submission to His every ordinance and enactment! and has He given power to His servants to administer the affairs of His house, and shall these servants disclaim the power and forego the exercise of it in deference to secular usurpation? . . . And hath it come to this that a Christian Church . . . shall be treated as a mere civil corporation? . . . Shall we turn away from the King that God the Father hath put upon His holy hill, the King whom our ancient worthies there worshipped and obeyed? . . . From Him shall we go to Cæsar for redress, as if He who shall judge the world were of no account or estimation? Shall we ask leave of civil judicatories to bind and loose, to open and shut, ordain or depose, making diligent suit to them to tell us precisely what is right and what were wrong in questions of Church order and spiritual jurisdiction? Because we would not consent to this disparagement and defection, we stand before you this day divested of . . . all parish immunities." *

In addition to such sermons, a large proportion of the ministers, at the time when they left the Establishment, assigned

* A Protester's Apology for Quitting the Established Church, &c. pp. 4-10.

their reasons in the form of addresses, printed and circulated among their parishioners. Looking back from the distance of thirty years on this great array of pamphlets, one is struck by the prominence which they give to the one subject of the spiritual independence of the Church in connection with the Headship of Christ. Approaching the question at issue, as they do, in many different methods, this is the central point on which they all converge. We can give only a very few examples to illustrate the views which then prevailed.

One of the pamphlets which attracted notice was by Dr. M'Cosh, then of Brechin. He began by stating that he would find little difficulty in proving two things—"first, That the judges and statesmen of the land do hold that the Established Church is bound to obey them in spiritual matters; and second, That the Established Church has in its deeds (whatever may be its professions in words) taken orders from the Civil Courts in the most sacred spiritual matters, and given unto Cæsar the things that be God's." By an overwhelming array of proof he establishes the first of these positions, and then proceeds to inquire "how far the Church has acquiesced in that law. . . . Those who remained in the Establishment did so on the express understanding that they were to submit to the supremacy of the civil law. Where is now the party in the Church protesting against the acts or the language of our statesmen and judges? There is no such party, and there can be no such party; for the law and constitution are now settled, and it is in vain for persons to remain in any society, and protest against its constitution.

"How, then, did the General Assembly deal with those acts [of the Church] when the protesting party left in May, 1843? . . . The Assembly did not retain so much as the semblance of independent authority. It hastened to fling itself in abject prostration at the feet of its master. It declared that, because the Civil Court said so, the Veto was no law, and never had been a law of the Church, and that the Strathbogie ministers never had been deposed. . . . Was the Church obeying Christ or obeying the House of Lords in intruding Mr. Young into Auchterarder? We can point to the orders of the House

of Lords to this effect; but it is more difficult to point to the command of Christ in His Word. . . . Was the Church obeying Christ or obeying the Courts of law when it declared that between two and three hundred pastors of *quoad sacra* parishes, with their numerous elders, all elected according to Scripture, had no power to hold kirk-sessions, to admit communicants, to exercise discipline, or generally to rule in Christ's Church? We can point to many passages of God's Word in which it is said to be the duty of ministers and elders to rule in conformity to Christ's laws. . . . Where, then, was the Assembly's authority for declaring they should not rule? . . . I know they can give us the authority of the Court of Session; and if they say they were obeying that authority, I believe them. . . . Here we have a state of things in which the commands of Christ and those of the civil authority were manifestly opposed; and the Assembly, by obeying the latter, declared, in the face of the whole world, that they acknowledged it to be the true master of the house and head of the kingdom." . . . "It was because they felt that the fundamental principles and very constitution of the Establishment had been changed by the recent decisions that so many were constrained to abandon it by the highest of all compulsions—the compulsion of conscience and of duty."*

The address of Mr. Taylor, of Flisk, was called forth in remarkable circumstances. His settlement in the parish took place on the 14th of April, the very eve of the Disruption. "The manner of my entry at Flisk was very stormy, but God overruled it for good. Dr. Anderson, of Newburgh, officiated at the induction, and as he regarded himself as the mouthpiece of his party, he considered that something would be expected of him. . . . After putting the questions and receiving the suitable answers, the Dr. politely asked me to sit down, and in a carefully prepared address of about an hour's length, he condemned the agitation movements of the Evangelical party, and the Convocation deliberations, and praised the Church of Scotland as shaped and modelled by the decisions of the Law Courts, he took

* Does the Established Church Acknowledge Christ as its Head? By the Rev. J. M'Cosh, Brechin. 1846.

me bound by the solemn vows then administered to me not to leave the Church as by law established, and not to meddle with those who are given to change. The address to the people was much in the same strain. During its delivery the congregation looked on with a sober unmeaning gravity. Many of the Moderate brethren seemed to enjoy a great satisfaction as the roll of the Dr.'s artillery was directed against their opponents. One little incident there was which enlivened and gave character to the scene. An old man, blind Jamie Blyth, whose intellectual perceptions were keener than those of his neighbours, and who was most keen in his abhorrence of anything that savoured of Moderatism, listened patiently until he discovered the drift of the Dr.'s address, and then indignantly rising, he called, 'Hand me my hat, and let me to the door, for I canna thole this.'"

At the close of the address an animated discussion took place, in the course of which Mr. Taylor disclaimed the interpretation put on the ordination vows, and subsequently he published a reply to the address under the title of "A few words to the Parishioners of Flisk." He shows the change effected by recent decisions on the constitution of the Church of Scotland. Of that Church as set forth by Dr. Anderson he says: "This is not the Zion which was of old, . . . which Knox founded and Melville built up. These are not the bulwarks which Henderson, and Welsh, and Guthrie raised. This is not the carved work which the hands of Rutherford, and Boston, and Willison formed. This is not the Zion which was lately attacked, and on the battlements of which were seen the venerable forms of Chalmers, and Gordon, and Brown, and the day of whose danger called forth the youthful defence of Candlish, and Begg, and Buchanan, and gathered round her the weighty and talented support of such elders as Dunlop, and Crichton, and Spiers, and Monteith, and Buchan, and Collins. . . . That Establishment was an Establishment which claimed the power to do what Christ wills, and not the power of doing merely what the State allows. . . . Sooner far join with the Voluntary in saying, 'No Establishment,' than join with the Erastian in seeking a shackled and secularised one. . . .

"I have no interest in leaving the Establishment. Considerations of worldly interest call upon me to remain. There is not a morning I wake amid the song of early birds, there is not a time I saunter in the enclosures of this sweet solitude, every one of which tells of the taste of him who designed them, I never recline in its den, soothed by the soft sound of its falling waters, I never look forth to the distant hills which seem as a frame to the picture formed by Tay's broad waves, and the rich mansion-studded fields of Gowrie—but I feel the rising desire, here to stay. The harmonious and happy nature of my settlement, so far as you were concerned, your own kindness, of which I am daily receiving fresh instances, and instances the most abundant from quarters where they were least looked for, the size of the church and the extent of my parish, and the fear that if I am forced to leave this sphere of labour, my weakly health may be unable to contend with the excitements and increased labours of a secession state—all these things move me. But much as I value these things, I would wish to value my principles more. I would wish to prefer the honour of Christ as King in Zion, and the time-honoured testimony of the Church of Scotland, 'that she is free in her government from all other jurisdictions except Christ's,' and the Christian rights of her Christian people. To these principles I am pledged: from them I cannot, I dare not—God strengthening me—I will not go back."*

In addition to the addresses from which these extracts have been taken, there is a long series, in which the questions at issue were ably handled. One by Mr. Wood, of Elie (then of Westruther), was widely circulated. It contained an elaborate discussion of the kingly office of Christ in the visible Church, with an explanation of what is meant by "the power of the keys," and after showing how the spiritual authority thus conferred on the Church had been invaded and overthrown by the Law Courts, he argued that, "If the Statutes warrant these decisions, then no Church of Christ can remain without sin in connection with the State under these Statutes."†

Another which met with much acceptance was by Mr. Gregory,

* A Few Words to the Parishioners of Flisk, pp. 14, 15.

† Present Duty, Pastoral Address, &c., fourth thousand, p. 7.

of Anstruther, then of Roxburgh Church, Edinburgh, in which the meetings of the Convocation were held. He enters fully into the matter of Christ's Headship, explaining clearly the great principle of spiritual independence, and then points out the state to which the Established Church had been reduced. She holds her emoluments on this condition, that she "shall take laws and directions from the civil authorities, instead of Christ, in spiritual things, and shall, through her office-bearers, settle ministers over reclaiming congregations. There is no disguising or denying this. . . . We dare not hold by State endowments, as we should be free of the fearful sin of selling our allegiance to our King for filthy lucre." *

Enough has now been said to show the general drift of these addresses, which came from many of the ablest and most devoted ministers all over the country. But there is one additional statement which must not be omitted—the letter of an aged minister, Mr. M'Kenzie, of Tongue, whom the trials of the Disruption sent to his grave, under painful circumstances, to be afterwards noticed. The reader will observe how the firmness of his decision was great in proportion to the painful struggle through which he had to pass. Addressing Mr. Pitcairn, clerk to the Convocation, he says, under date 29th December, 1842: "I write to intimate my adherence, as minister of Tongue, to all the resolutions of the late Convocation at Edinburgh. I resolved this from the first communication to me, but immediately thereafter, being assured by local authority that no separatist would be permitted to remain as officiating minister within the bounds of the Presbytery, all the property of the Duke of Sutherland; agonised at the thought of parting with my beloved, sympathising, and attached parishioners; haunted by the denunciations of Scripture against the shepherds who leave their flocks, suffering them to wander on the mountains and hills, to be meat for the beasts of the field, my resolution was staggered for a time, and I paused to examine the subject more fully by the light of Scripture, by meditation and prayer, more especially as from my age and infirmities, obliged lately to engage an assistant, I could

* Good reasons for leaving the present Ecclesiastical Establishment, &c., sixth thousand, pp. 7, 8.

expect no other sphere to exercise my worn-out faculties in my Master's vineyard, and could not readily reconcile myself to be wholly excluded, silent, and useless. At length, with clear light and a good conscience, I said, Come what will, and whatever the sacrifice I must render, that no proposed good can sanction doing evil to attain it, that nothing can warrant my remaining in an Erastian Church, and allying myself with ministers who would consent to make the Church of Christ a creature of the State, . . . and its servants only to be the slaves of a worldly tyranny—not the commissioned office-bearers of Zion's King, teaching only the doctrines of His instruction, and ruling only for the glory of His name, and the spiritual interests of His purchased inheritance. With unceasing prayer for the success of the objects of the Convocation resolutions and memorial, from God and man, and fully resolved to embark and keep embarked with them, assured theirs is the ship in which Christ is, and which shall be safe, however tossed or likely to perish, when He sees meet to interpose and give the command to be still."

We close these statements with one remarkable case, in which *old age* is assigned as one reason for going out. "For fifteen months previous to the Disruption, Mr. Anderson, of Kippen, suffered from a severe illness, which laid him aside from ministerial work. In 1843 he demitted his charge, and preached during the summer in the open air, and occasionally in a barn. The outward hardships, however, which he underwent were slight compared with the scorn of former friends. He 'suffered shame' for his Master—he became 'a fool for Christ's sake;' for those who had no sympathy with his principles could only brand his sacrifice as an act of aggravated folly, especially considering his advanced time of life. Such objections, however, were thoroughly met by his own words, 'The older I am, I have the more need to be faithful.' He lived only a year and a-half after the Disruption. . . . He died on the 27th of March, 1845, in the 66th year of his age, and 34th of his ministry. It is but just to state that the painful opposition referred to wore away with his life, and disappeared in his grave. His funeral was a remarkable evidence of this. All, without exception, united in the last tribute to his worth, while his widow and his son gladly acknow-

ledge their obligations to his memory. They deeply feel that much of the favour withheld from him during his trial has since descended on them for his sake. 'Them that honour me I will honour.'" *

* Parker Mss., Pres. of Stirling.

## XVII. Reasons for going out as given by the People.

What made the Free Church movement so formidable was the extensive support which it received from the laity, not only among the leading elders, but among the general population. Their reasons were various. Personal attachment to the outgoing ministers was a strong inducement on the part of many; but it is obvious that if that had been all, the movement, instead of being what we now see it, would soon have lost its hold amidst the changes of succeeding years. There must have been some far more deeply-seated and powerful impulse which swayed the popular mind. And this is all the more obvious when we consider the numerous cases in which respected parish ministers remained in the Establishment, while the people took their own course, and formed Free Church congregations.

One reason which powerfully influenced many was their opposition to the preaching and policy of what were called "the Moderates." The origin of this Moderate party (the name is of their own choosing), is usually traced back to that class of ministers who changed from Presbytery to Episcopacy, and from Episcopacy to Presbytery, as each party rose into the ascendant. After the Revolution of 1688, the presence of such men ("the court party," as Dr. M'Crie styles them) was felt as a great weakness to the Church. Unfortunately, as time went on, their influence increased, till, in 1734, they cast out the Erskines and other Seceders; and by a still more flagrant abuse of power in 1752, deposed Gillespie, the founder of the Relief Synod. Then the free-thinking spirit of the age began to prevail in their ranks, till, publicly and privately, all strictness of doctrine was discarded. It is now known that if it had been safe, they would have thrown aside the Confession of Faith. In

1796 they passed an Act of Assembly condemning Christian missions, and in 1799 another forbidding the pulpits to all ministers of any other denomination; their object in thus cutting themselves off from Christendom being to exclude the earnest Gospel ministrations of such men as Simeon of Cambridge.

All through the Ten Years' Conflict this party identified themselves with the proceedings of the Civil Courts, and at the Disruption the Established Church passed into their hands, with its constitution moulded according to their Moderate views—the old scriptural constitution of the Scottish Establishment being thus completely and, it is feared, finally overthrown, as regards the vital question of spiritual independence.

From the commencement of the century the Moderate party had begun rapidly to lose ground before the rising power of Evangelism, led on by the late Sir Henry Moncreiff, Dr. Thomson, and Dr. Chalmers. Some of their number—not a large section—became themselves evangelical in sentiment and zealous in action, while still holding the anomalous position of being Moderates in policy. There were others who held by the doctrines of the Confession in all their strictness, but who had little zeal in their ministerial work. The great mass of the party, however, still continued to be what they had been before. There was much ground for the strong view taken by Hugh Miller: "We have but one Bible and one Confession of Faith in our Scottish Establishment, but we have two religions in it; and these, though they bear exactly the same name, and speak nearly the same language, are yet fundamentally and vitally different." In Church politics the single rule of the Moderate party was to uphold the views of the Civil Courts and to maintain patronage; while, in regard to the usual style of their pulpit ministrations, the following estimate may be accepted as a close approximation to the truth: "In theology the Moderate inclines to what is usually styled Arminian doctrine, although Arminius himself would have disowned it, but what may be more properly called legal doctrine. He exhibits the precepts of Christianity apart from the remedial and strengthening grace of Christianity. Somehow, although he may not state it, he leaves his hearers to think that man is

the author and finisher of his own salvation. Even many of the Moderate clergy who profess a sounder creed than that we have described are most confused in their statements of what the Gospel is. With them it is a Yea and a Nay Gospel, compounded of alternate averments and retractations." *

Such was the class of ministers whose preaching and policy had for long been distasteful to the Scottish people; and, as may well be understood, the feeling of dislike became only the more intense in proportion as the revived spirit of religious earnestness spread over the country. For two or three generations many of the more earnest members of the Church had been gradually going over to the Seceders, and even among those who clung to the Establishment there were large numbers who did so with extreme reluctance and dissatisfaction. In Lesmahagow, Dr. Parker thus describes the situation: "In this quarter a change took place to the worse, similar to what has been observed in other districts of Scotland. . . . The Upper Ward of Lanarkshire was for many years previous to the Disruption characterised by a painful apathy on religious subjects. The ministers belonging to the Establishment were for the most part of the Moderate school; the few who professed different principles did not manifest much zeal in their propagation and defence. . . . Meetings for prayer and fellowship were almost wholly unknown, and the discipline of the Church had sunk in many cases into a vain and lifeless form. It must not be forgotten, however, that, while many a pulpit gave forth an uncertain sound, and little was done by direct ecclesiastical agency to advance the cause of Christ, there were families not a few in which pure religion found a home. The children were diligently instructed in the Scriptures and the Shorter Catechism, domestic worship was regularly observed, the writings of the old divines were eagerly and assiduously perused, and everything contrary to good morals was carefully repressed. They remained reluctantly within the pale of the Establishment, little edified by the Sabbath lessons to which they listened, but indulging the hope that better days would come—that God would again visit the vine which His own right hand had

* Memoir of D. M. M. Crichton. By Rev. J. W. Taylor, p. 206.

planted, and revive His work in the midst of the years. They watched with growing interest the advance of evangelical sentiment in the Church of their fathers. They rejoiced when these sentiments gained the ascendancy in the General Assembly, and they were gradually prepared, when the day of trial and the hour of separation came, to cast in their lot with the protesting minority of her faithful ministers." *

In the North, we find the Duchess of Gordon, after her widowhood, thus lamenting her isolation at Huntly: "It is really a trial to feel that the truth is preached in the dissenting chapels; but then they are Voluntaries, and here am I on a hill. O for wisdom, and, above all, grace and love!" †

Now, it should be remembered that, up to the time of the Disruption, Scotland was still, to a large extent, in the hands of this school of divines, and they had the people at their mercy; for by a law of the Church no minister could preach in the parish of any other minister without his permission. It is well known that Dr. M'Donald, of Urquhart, narrowly escaped rebuke at the bar of the Assembly, for having, without leave from the parish minister, preached to people who were longing to hear the Gospel from his lips.

How irksome this state of matters was in many of the parishes need not be said. There were some of the ministers who felt it keenly, as may be seen from an entry in the diary of Mr. M'Cheyne: "Have been laying much to heart the absolute necessity laid upon the Church of sending the Gospel to our dead parishes during the life of the present incumbents. It is confessed that many of our ministers do not preach the Gospel —alas! because they know it not. Yet they have complete control over their own pulpits, and may never suffer the truth to be heard there during their whole incumbency. And yet our Church consigns these parishes to their tender mercies for perhaps fifty years without a sigh." ‡

Here, then, was one ground on which the Disruption was heartily welcomed by many of the people. It broke the monopoly. Ministers and laymen, in regard to the preaching of a free Gos-

* Dis. Mss. xxxi. p. 2. † Life, p. 226.

‡ Memoir, p. 140.

pel, escaped from under the trammels of Moderatism. Ministers might preach and the people hear the message of salvation whenever there was an opportunity.

This, indeed, was a change for which it appears many had been longing and praying. It was so at Luss, in Dumbartonshire. "The people of the parish were church-goers, and nothing more. There were a few, however, who mourned over the prevalent apathy, and as they talked apart with each other on the Sabbath day among the gravestones in the churchyard, cried out, 'What a dead place this is!' or, after they had thought over it in their dwellings, 'How long is this to last?' Surely those who were thus sighing for spiritual life . . . were inwardly preparing for what was to come." *

In a similar way, in Strathbogie, it is stated: "I have been often told by humble Christians in Huntly, who were brought to the love of the truth, that, just before the suspension of the seven ministers, many among them felt a craving for something they did not well know what; and when the Assembly's ministers were sent down, . . . I believe it was the almost universal feeling—This is the very thing we needed. . . . This is the thing we have been seeking." †

In the same district there was one who spake yet more emphatically. "'Nobody need tell me about the Moderates,' said the Duchess of Gordon. 'I know them well. I should never think of consulting them on any religious subject, or asking them to my house for spiritual profit. All I can do is to invite them to dinner, when the Duke of Richmond is here, with the farmers at the cattle show.' . . . In the end of December, 1837, soon after her return to Huntly Lodge, we find her writing these striking words: 'We must pray very, very hard for more labourers in the Lord's vineyard, and that He may send us pastors after His own heart. I do not see where they are to come from at all, and therefore I think I can pray with the more entire faith, and feel sure that the Lord will give them in His own time and way.'" ‡

At Huntly, a young woman from the country said: "The

* Dis. Mss. xxx. pp. 1, 2. † *Ibid.* x. p. 2.

‡ Life, p. 226.

rich folk talks about la', la'; we puir folk ken naething about the la', but we ken fine fa's the best preachers."*

Further to the North, it is stated that "all the people throughout the whole county of Caithness, who had been noted for their piety long before the Disruption took place, most cordially embraced the principles of the Free Church. This knowledge of our having an interest in the prayers of these Christians most undoubtedly had a very powerful effect in sustaining us in the path of duty."†

But, apart from the question of evangelical preaching, there were many of the humbler ranks who well understood the great question that was at issue, and were as ready as their forefathers to repudiate the policy of Moderatism. Mr. Lewis, of Dundee, says of his own congregation: "Many were doubtless carried away by personal liking for the minister, and many of the young by national feeling and generous sympathy with those about to make a sacrifice for what they regarded as principle and duty; but, on looking over the list of adherents, it was obvious that both the intelligence and heart of the congregation were with us. . . . All who had been most ready to do aught for the young through weekly and Sabbath schools—all who took an interest in missions in our Church at home and abroad —all who were readers of Scottish history, or ever took any interest in questions peculiarly national and Scottish. The older members were with us almost to a man among the working classes, recognising the contest as the old question, and not being able to understand how a Church of Christ could part with her right of self-government for any civil or State advantages. The new name for an Established Church, '*the creature of the State*,' seems to them inexpressibly odious. Nothing less than denying its Divine origin, and shrivelling it up into a mere instrument of civil government and police."‡

At the close of his farewell sermon at Latheron, Mr. Davidson summoned a meeting of session, to be held next day, to afford the elders an opportunity of declaring their sentiments on a matter so important. Accordingly, he states: "Met in session

* Life, p. 240. † Dis. Mss. xxv. p. 2.

‡ Parker Mss., Pres. of Dundee.

as proposed, and the elders having been asked to declare their sentiments as to the altered state of matters, and their own intention thereanent, George Mackay, the senior elder, after a pause and prayer for direction, said that he had no hesitation as to the course they should take, that he approved heartily of the manner in which their ministers had contended for the liberty with which Christ had made His people free, and prayed that grace might be given them to persevere, and cast their burden upon the Lord, who would not fail them in the day of trial. He blessed God that they had been privileged to witness for His cause, and pitied the poor Moderates who, like Esau, had sold their birthright for their stipend, but expected no better of them. He cordially adhered to the Free Protesting Church of Scotland, and would only say, Jehovah-jireh. All the other six elders expressed themselves in similar terms, and without the least hesitation." *

It must be admitted that there were cases of a different kind. Some of the people were sorely perplexed by the movement. Speaking of the farmers generally in the neighbourhood of Flisk, Mr. Taylor remarks: "The Disruption was to them a mystery. It seemed in their eyes madness that men should give up temporal advantages, glebes, and stipends, when no man was touching them, and when we could preach what we chose without interference. A Flisk farmer speaking to a friend of mine about the folly of my leaving the Establishment, my friend said that it was right that I should follow the light and guidance of my own conscience. 'Conscience! conscience!' said the farmer, 'it's a puir conscience that'll no rax' [stretch].†

A second story from Dunbog sets the matter in a similar light. "A month or two after the Disruption, a Moderate farmer, in a parish whose minister had remained faithful to Christ, was making some inquiry as to how his former minister was getting on, and, amongst other things, was told in reply, he was preaching better than ever. 'Indeed! well, that is too bad. He had a good stipend with us—was well paid for preaching—and if he didn't do his best it was too bad. And now,

* Parker Mss., Pres. of Latheron, p. 4.

† Dis. Mss. xxxvii. pp. 11, 12.

when he gets less for it, he is preaching better. It's a great shame.'" *

It would appear that some of those who remained in the Establishment had a secret consciousness that they were not following the path of duty. When Mr. Manson, of Fyvie, on the third Sabbath after the Disruption, was driving in his gig to the barn where he was to preach, he tells us: "I met an aged parishioner wending his way to the parish church. As my gig neared him, with a respectful salutation, and apologising, evidently under deep feeling, he laid hold of the bridle reins of my horse, and looking up to me, said, 'Turn, Mr. Manson, turn.' 'Ah, no, J——,' I remarked, 'it is you that should turn. My course is taken, and I stated the grounds of it to you in the church a few Sabbaths ago. 'Well,' was the reply, 'we are maybe nae a' richt; I dinna say that I think it, but couldna ye jist come back and tak' yer place amongst us again, and be as Naaman was, when he bowed himself in the house of Rimmon, saying, The Lord pardon thy servant in this thing.'" †

Another incident, which took place at Muthill, Perthshire, illustrates the same truth in yet more striking circumstances. "A farmer, a man advanced in life, and with a large family, had all along shown an enmity to us of an almost incredible kind. His wife and family were friendly to our cause, and were determined at all hazards to join us. This made him furious. When any of his family failed to attend the parish church and came to ours, his rage knew no bounds. He was a man of very violent temper, and he spoke and acted on such occasions in a way which made his neighbours ashamed, and filled them with alarm for the consequences. Every week added to his rage, and he had almost succeeded by sheer violence in making his family desert the cause. This continued for three months or so. The neighbours at last interfered, but only made matters worse. All his rage was, however, suddenly and remarkably subdued. One day while he was blasting stones, a shot exploded in his very face. He was dangerously hurt, his eyes almost destroyed, and his face fearfully disfigured. Almost the very first use he made

* Parker Mss., Rev. Mr. Murray, Dunbog.

† *Ibid.* Rev. Mr. Manson, Fyvie.

of his speech was to assure those who came to his assistance that he would never speak any more against the Free Church, and never object to his family attending it. Accordingly, they have had full liberty and peace to attend ever since."*

There were many who hesitated long before they could take the step. "One of the most zealous adherents in this parish (Deskford), desirous of persuading as many as he could to enlist themselves on what he believed to be the Lord's side, was answered by some of them that they would wait till they saw. He replied that it was not very like valiant soldiers, to lie behind a dyke and leave others to bear the brunt of the battle." †

At Kilsyth, on the morning after the farewell sermon at the Established Church, a meeting of the elders and friends was held at seven o'clock. "About forty came. After joining in prayer and praise, various resolutions were passed. . . . Previous to this, a few minutes past 6 A.M., Matthew Adam, the beadle, who had adhered for one day to the Establishment, . . . came to the manse, declaring that he had stayed in too long, comparing himself to the son who said at first, 'I will not,' but afterward repented and went." ‡

In the midst of all this, however, the strongest encouragements by which, under God, the ministers were sustained, was the intelligent support of so many of the best of their people. Even those in the humblest ranks often knew, and could state in few words, the great truths that were contended for; and if the mode of expression was sometimes homely, it often bore the true stamp of Scottish character.

Thus, in one of the Ayrshire parishes, a plain man settled the controversy in a simple way: "Wha would think o' going to the Court o' Session to ask the way o' salvation for a sinner, and why should men think o' going to that Court to ask how to govern Christ's Church?" §

Dr. A. Bonar records a statement found on the blank-leaf of a Bible, belonging to a poor woman in Collace, who had borne more bodily pain than could well be believed, and who expected

* Dis Mss. viii. p. 11.
† *Ibid.* xv. p. 9.
‡ *Ibid.* xxix. p. 35.
§ *Ibid.* i. p. 6.

soon to be taken to Him who had given her the heart to love Him. It was her testimony to the Crown-rights of Christ. "I write this 22nd May, 1843, after a long time of extreme pain and sore temptation, out of a full heart, feeling the love wherewith the Lord has loved me. It was on Tuesday, after all the beloved servants of God and people left the Established Church of Scotland, because the laws of Christ were denied in her. So, in the strength of Jesus, I desire to stand by my Father's cause. This I write to comfort my mother when I am gone."

Mr. Robertson, of Gartly, tells of a poor woman in his congregation who took a deep interest in the question. "When a paper was being sent round the parish for ascertaining the number of our adherents, she said she would sign it if she had a hundred hands." †

"William Weir, one of the outgoing elders (Lesmahagow), who was very frail at the time of the Disruption, and who has since been removed by death [1846], was pressed to remain in the Establishment on the ground that his days could not be many. He replied, 'It's never too late to do weel. I canna remain in the house when my Master is shut out.'

"An aged widow, a warm advocate of Moderatism and the Establishment, called on one of my elders (Lesmahagow) soon after the close of the Assembly of 1844. She remarked to him that both Assemblies got on very well—she saw no difference between them. He said he thought there was a little difference, for in the old Assembly, when any difficulty arose, they referred to Lord Aberdeen's Act to see what *it* said, but in the Free Assembly they referred to the Word of God. The old woman . . . rose abruptly, and left the house." ‡

But not only could they thus express their views in brief and homely words, they could, when occasion called for it, argue the question at length. At Ochiltree, in Ayrshire, Mr. Boyd, the parish minister, saw it his duty to remain in the Establishment; and after doing so, he complained publicly from the pulpit, and afterwards in print, that so many of his people had

* Dis. Mss. xxi. p. 4. † *Ibid.* xvii. p. 7.

‡ *Ibid.* xxxi. p. 30.

left him without giving their reasons. A working man, Mr. John Andrew, a hand-loom weaver, undertook to supply the omission in name of himself and his friends, and it is to be hoped that the parish minister was pleased with the result. His letter deserves to be read by those who wish to judge whether the common people of Scotland understood the question then at issue. "You are right, reverend sir, . . . in supposing that we are not guided by any personal dislike to you. . . . When you remember that we always cherished and manifested a becoming respect, esteem, and affection for you, . . . and were ever ready to aid and assist you in every Christian enterprise, you cannot but be convinced that we are actuated by higher than personal considerations. . . .

"You speak of attempts . . . to convert your peaceful parish into a scene of strife and warfare. We recognise no such melancholy state of things. . . . The liberty we take to ourselves in leaving the Church, that liberty we willingly give to our brethren who stay behind us. We are disposed for charity, and are willing to believe their motives good, and if they act on the same principle, and walk in the same spirit, all bitterness . . . must soon die away. . . .

"In speaking of yourself as a minister of the venerable Church of Scotland, you say you are as *free, unfettered, and independent* as ever. . . . The assertion seems more bold than true. Pardon us, reverend sir, if we say we do not believe it. . . . We know, indeed, you are free to preach, administer the sacraments, marry, visit, and the like. These are parts of the ministerial office, with the liberties of which the State has not as yet interfered. But here your freedom ends, for as a member of Presbytery in the settlement of ministers, . . . you are bound, under pains and penalties, to act, it may be not according to your own conscientious view, but according to the independent will of the patron, and the determination of the Civil Courts, and to place a minister not only against the conscientious objections of the people, but against the conscientious objections of the Presbytery itself—a state of things diametrically opposite to the original liberties of the Established Kirk of Scotland, subversive of our natural birthright, and at variance with the Word of Almighty

God. . . . The plain, unvarnished truth is, that by the late decisions of the Civil Courts, . . . the freedom and independence, such as it was which you enjoyed two years ago, has been totally uprooted and taken away. . . . *The State has declared itself your master, without a check or limit to your servitude, save its own good pleasure.* . . .

"And now, in taking farewell of you, reverend sir, permit us to entreat you to reconsider the subject. . . . We can and we do appreciate your good qualities as well as others, and sorry would we be to say one word unnecessarily to wound your feelings. . . . May the God of love and peace, who brought again from the dead our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that great Shepherd of the sheep, make you perfect in every good work; . . . and may He promote between us and our brethren who remain under your care the spirit of love and goodwill." *

The earnestness, indeed, with which the people made the cause their own is seen especially in those parishes where, as in Ochiltree, the ministers remained in the Establishment. We give one of these cases in full detail, in order to illustrate the way in which the matter was conducted when in the hands of the laity.

At Johnstone, Renfrewshire, it is stated that in March, 1843, "two elders from Bridge-of-Weir, Mr. Gemmill, teacher, and Dr. Munro, along with two elders from Paisley, Mr. Archibald Gardner, writer [and Mr. Archibald Hodge, banker], met by agreement in Johnstone, in the shop of Mr. Archibald Watson, along with four Johnstonians, Messrs. Nesbit Thomson, baker; John Maxton, joiner; James Laird, boot and shoemaker; and Mr. Archibald Watson, boot and shoemaker, tenant of the place of meeting. At this meeting steps were taken for diffusing information on the Church question throughout the town and neighbourhood. Mr. Alex. Steel, minister of the Free Church at Dalry, and then a preacher, had a school in Quarrelton, beside Johnstone. The second meeting of the committee was held in it. The original committee, joined by Messrs. Joseph Laird, teacher; Robert M'Nair, spinner;

* Farewell Address of the Free Presbyterians of Ochiltree to the Rev. James Boyd, their late Pastor.

Mr. Richard Gardner, and others, was very active. They obtained parties to lecture on the subject. . . . The town was divided into districts, and carefully visited, when it was found that about 140 expressed their intention to leave the Establishment unless the demands of the Church were granted by Government." At the first meeting of the Free Church Presbytery, the Court was induced to take Johnstone under its fostering charge. "A hall in M'Dowall street was obtained as a place of worship for the infant congregation, in which it regularly worshipped for about two years. The Rev. Mr. Makellar, son of the Rev. Dr. Makellar, of Pencaitland, was sent to labour in Johnstone, and there he laboured faithfully and diligently for about two months. . . . Shortly after my induction, a church was built on a favourable site, granted free of feu-duty by Mr. Graham, of Fernese. The opening collection amounted to £103, a large collection for a few poor people, and the largest ever made in Johnstone. A certain party would not believe we had made such a collection, and observed some of us had put the greater part of it in the plate in order to make a show, and had had it returned on Monday morning. I said the Free Church knew better than to return what was given to her. The Johnstone Free Church cost about £1100, but it had subsequently to be repaired at an expense of £500. In three years there were 250 members and 120 adherents." *

Nothing was more touching in all that time than the zeal and self-sacrifice with which even the poorest of the people threw themselves into the work—widows, in many instances, casting their mite into the treasury unasked. Three of the cases recorded in the Disruption Mss. will show the kind of spirit which pervaded the country.

At Deskford, Mr. Innes remarks: "Some of my congregation, who are very poor, must, I am sure, exercise no inconsiderable degree of self-denial to enable them to contribute as they do. I may here mention a small anecdote of one of them who, though in very sober circumstances, values herself not a little on her being of the same family with the great and good Samuel Rutherford. When the time of the Disruption was

* Dis. Mss. xlii.

drawing nigh, . . . she called one morning upon one of my elders, and put into his hands a crown piece (5s.), saying, 'There, tak' this, John; I have been makin' an eedol o't [making an idol of it]. That's hansel to your new kirk.' . . . It is almost unnecessary to say she has been contributing since with distinguished liberality in proportion to her means—giving very much in the spirit of her who gave her two mites; and she says she was never better off than since she has been doing so.' *

Mr. Murray, at Newburgh, in Fife, says: "Margaret —— was a saving, thrifty woman. As her former minister was a Moderate, and she rarely ever saw a newspaper, she knew nothing of the Disruption till it took place; but when it came it stirred her whole soul, and, as in many other cases, it opened her heart. Her new minister, having recently come to her neighbourhood, knew at first but little of her. One day he saw an elderly woman without her bonnet, with a white cap and a black ribbon round it, coming towards his house. She had her apron drawn together as if containing something rather heavy. He could not guess what her errand would be. On sitting down, she opened out her apron, and there were twenty pounds, seven in one-pound notes and thirteen in silver—the gatherings of many a day's, or rather of many a year's, winding of pirns—all which she now offered to the Lord, to be divided among the schemes of the Church. It was all her living." †

At Dundee, Mr. Lewis, after mentioning some of the higher contributions, states: "The largest in the eye of Christ was one offered by an aged woman, little removed from pauperism, who, at one of my ministerial visits, produced from its many wrappings a piece of gold which she had received recently from America. I thought to refuse it, but remembered that Christ would not have denied her the pleasure of contributing to His cause out of her poverty, 'more than they all.' Her name —the only one by which she was known in the congregation—was 'Betty.'" ‡

* Dis. Mss. xv. p. 5.

† Parker Mss., Mr. Murray, of Newburgh.

‡ *Ibid.* Rev. G. Lewis, Dundee, p. 18.

It was thus that people of all ranks, rich and poor, showed their earnestness on behalf of the cause which they had at heart; and when this spirit was abroad there was little cause to wonder at the way in which the money was provided. Already, in February, 1843—three months before the Disruption—Dr. Chalmers speaks of it as coming in "like a set rain at the rate of a thousand pounds a-day." *

* *Witness* Newspaper, 18th February, 1843.

## XVIII. A Confirmation.

One of the most striking confirmations of Free Church principles was given in 1843 by the General Assembly of the Establishment itself. On the 18th May, as we saw, Dr. Welsh read from the chair a solemn Protest, formally stating the grounds on which the constitution of the Establishment was held to have been fatally vitiated. When in the act of retiring, he laid that Protest on the table, and left it lying openly there for all who remained behind to answer it if they could.

To do the Moderate party justice, the challenge was accepted bravely enough. When they found themselves masters of the situation, and had taken the Established Church into their hands, Dr. Cook, their leader, brought the subject formally before the House. "It will be proper," he said, "that an examination of the minutest kind should be made of this Protest, that a formal answer to it should be drawn up, which should be widely circulated through the country." A committee of Assembly was accordingly appointed, who, no doubt, after doing their best, reported to a subsequent diet. It appeared that three separate forms of answer had been prepared, but after due consideration, the House had no difficulty in coming to a unanimous decision : *These answers would not do.*

On this, Mr. Robertson, of Ellon, afterwards Professor Robertson, of Edinburgh, proposed a resolution (a most reasonable one in the circumstances), to the effect that "a paper so important as the Protest under consideration requires to be answered with greater care, and with fuller leisure for mature deliberation, than it was found possible to give it during the pressure of business, that the General Assembly recommit the whole case for the further consideration of their committee, and instruct them accordingly to report on the whole case to

the Commission in August." This proposal was supported by Dr. Cook, who suggested that "the best wisdom of the House" should be given to the matter, and in order to secure this the committee was enlarged.

The challenge, then, had been publicly accepted, and the Established Assembly had pledged themselves to answer the Protest. Nearly three months were allowed for mature deliberation, the best wisdom of the House was engaged, and what was the result? *Will it be believed that the whole ended in failure?* The more the committee looked at the Protest, the less they seem to have liked it. The appointed time came, the meeting of Commission in August was duly held, other business was disposed of, and a separate diet was fixed for hearing the answer to the Protest. *But no House was made,* and nothing more was ever heard of the subject, either in the Commission or the Assembly. After bravely pledging themselves to frame a reply which was to be "circulated widely through the country," engaging "the best wisdom of the House," and taking time "for mature deliberation," the whole thing collapsed. Not even the strongest supporters of the Establishment could feel surprised if, in these circumstances, men very generally drew the inference that THE PROTEST WAS LEFT UNANSWERED, BECAUSE IT WAS FOUND TO BE UNANSWERABLE.

The truth is, that the proceedings of that Assembly itself in 1843 had made it an exceedingly awkward thing even to attempt an answer. It would never have done to go before the public without claiming for the Established Church some kind of spiritual independence and freedom. But there lay the difficulty. The Assembly had resolved after consideration not to repeal the Veto Law, not to rescind the Act admitting *quoad sacra* ministers, nor to take off the sentence of deposition solemnly pronounced by the Church on the ministers of Strathbogie, but to hold that all this had been effectually done for them already by the civil judges—the Court of Session. If the Church had herself passed a rescissory Act there might have been some semblance of a claim to spiritual independence and freedom—she might have frankly avowed a change of opinion, and proceeded herself to undo what had been done.

But instead of this, she simply abdicated her own spiritual functions, and sat down at the feet of the Court of Session. There was no need to reverse her decisions—the Civil Courts had reversed them for her. Everything she had done was null, and had been null all along, because the civil judges so decreed. Without reserve, the Church seemed to have taken on herself the badge of Erastian servitude.

What made all this the more serious was the manifestly spiritual nature of the functions so surrendered. The case of the *quoad sacra* ministers affected the power of a pastor, in conjunction with his elders, to take the spiritual oversight of his flock. The Auchterarder and other cases affected the formation of the pastoral tie by the sacred act of ordination, while the cases of deposition came in contact with one of the most delicate and solemn acts in the whole range of the Church's sacred functions. If the Established Church gave over such matters into the hands of the Civil Courts, and allowed them THE RIGHT OF EXPUNGING her sentences, was it not plain that her whole spiritual independence was gone—she had yielded up the rule and discipline of Christ's house into the hands of secular judges.

It may well have been the consciousness of this which formed the real difficulty—found to be insuperable—in the way of answering the Protest. But it is a far more serious consideration for the members of the Establishment that the whole series of these precedents have been so homologated that they must be held to be now in full force, and to have settled the constitution of the Church on what is obviously an Erastian basis. In any case, it must be allowed that the members of the Free Church have had good reason to view such proceedings as affording a signal confirmation of the soundness of the course which they followed.

## XIX. The Dwellings to which Ministers Retired.

One great trial which pressed immediately on outgoing ministers was the want of house accommodation—"a place," as one of them expresses it, "where to lay my own and so many other heads dear to me."

In the larger towns this was easy, though even there the change was often sufficiently marked. Dr. M'Farlan, of Greenock, had held a conspicuous place in the counsels of the Church ever after the debate on Pluralities in 1825. So early as December, 1839, he made, at a public meeting, the remarkable declaration: "It has pleased God, in His providence, to fill me, as far as stipend is concerned, a fuller cup than has fallen to any of my brethren; but this I say—and I say it advisedly, so help me God—holding the views I entertain on the subject, and regarding it as impossible without a sacrifice of conscience to submit to and acquiesce in that decree to which I have referred, I would rather cast that cup to the ground than I would taste it again, embittered, as it would be, if I were to yield, by the consciousness of having deserted what I believe to be my duty to God and my duty to the Church."

Accordingly, at the Disruption, he made the sacrifice, and his friends remarked that "he seemed as one relieved of a heavy burden, . . . cheerful and happy." He left the spacious house he had, and retired to a flat.* Those who had seen him in his former residence will remember how bright his presence made it, but all who had intercourse with him after the change will testify that a yet fairer sunshine seemed to rest on his new home, as if more than ever the joy of the Lord was his strength.

In country districts the trial through which ministers and

* Parker Mss., Rev. Dr. M'Farlan.

their families had to pass was often of a kind the full details of which will never be told on earth. The few examples now to be given may serve in some measure to show what was going on.

When Mr. Lumsden, of Barry, afterwards Principal Lumsden, of Aberdeen, removed from the manse, he had to retire to a labourer's cottage. Dr. M'Donald, of Ferintosh, the most venerated and influential minister in the North of Scotland, was not allowed to remain in the house to which he removed after leaving the manse, but was compelled, along with his family, to occupy a small, uncomfortable cottage in the neighbourhood.*

So long as health was not affected, such changes were accepted with all cheerfulness. Mr. Innes, of Deskford, states: "My experience in connection with the change has not been one of special trial, but of very great encouragement. I have felt the goodness of the Lord in a variety of respects, both to myself and to those in whom I am most deeply interested." He makes nothing of the fact which he afterwards states incidentally, that "the accommodation with which upon leaving the parish manse I and my family were glad to put up was, on account of its meanness, and the little respectability of our neighbours, made the subject of scorn and derision." Nor is he troubled by the fact that, in his old age, he had to walk three miles to the barn in which he preached, and three miles returning, sometimes having to do this twice on the Sabbath. He merely adds, "Through the Lord's great goodness, I have never, from the state of the weather, nor from the state of my health, been prevented from preaching on any one Sabbath, and never . . . have I been the worse for doing so, though I be now in my sixty-ninth year, and have a delicate frame and constitution."†

At Roslin, near Edinburgh, the circumstances were trying. After occupying for eleven years a very comfortable manse which was built for him, the minister "was obliged to rent two small cottages in the village of Roslin, having been decidedly refused the only houses in the vicinity which were suitable, though they were offered to be let to the general public. One of the two cottages, containing a single apartment, with a tiled

* Parker Mss., Rev. Dr. M'Donald. † Dis. Mss. xv. pp. 7, 8.

roof and an earthen floor, the minister occupied as a bedroom till he lost his health. At present [1846] that room is occupied by part of his family, who retire to it at night by going out of the door of the one cottage and into the door of the other, there being no internal communication between them. The floor of this room is covered by a piece of felt, obtained by purchase from a neighbouring paper-mill, and as one piece becomes rotten another piece is procured. Chairs and other articles used in the manse are hung round the walls of the room somewhat in the mode of a broker's warehouse, the two cottages being too little to contain the furniture in the usual way. As may well be conceived, the valuable furniture which was in the manse has been much deteriorated."*

So also in the case of Mr. Lamb, of Kirkmaiden. "Of all the incidents of 1843, none produced such a deep and general impression on the minds of men of all denominations in the district as the demission of Mr. Lamb. His family were delicate, and himself unfit for any but the quietest . . . duties, yet he left his manse for a comfortless dwelling with a loveable cheerfulness equalled only by the gentleness which had beautified his uncompromising firmness of principle during the whole course of the Ten Years' Conflict."†

In some cases the distance to which men were forced to remove involved much trial, and in others it is believed to have sent them to an untimely grave. "After leaving the manse, Mr. Aitken, of Dyke, was put to much inconvenience. . . . He was obliged to remove to the town of Forres, which was four miles distant, and here he continued for ten years. The visitation of his people and the performance of public duties were the occasion of much labour and travelling, both by day and by night."

"In 1852, a site was at last granted by Mr. Brodie, of Brodie, and a manse built in 1853, but the harassment and fatigue to which Mr. Aitken had long been subjected now began to tell on his constitution, and in 1855 his health broke down. . . . He was soon completely laid aside."‡

* Dis. Mss. xiv. p. 4. † Parker Mss., Pres. of Stranraer.

‡ *Ibid.* Pres. of Forres.

Mr. Roderick M'Leod, of Skye, writes, in 1867: "Perhaps Dr. Candlish may still remember his visit to Skye with the late lamented Dr. Makellar, when, after breakfasting with us and looking on our accommodation, he called Dr. Makellar to show him a curiosity, . . . the small dimensions of a room where six or seven children were packed together. . . . To the discomforts of these flittings, especially the first, I have often thought that the seeds of the fell disease that has made my company so desolate were mainly to be traced."*

The Rev. Thomas Davidson, of Kilmalie, Abertarff, had a still harder struggle. After leaving the manse, he had, down to May, 1844, two or three apartments in Annat House, but after that "the only accommodation he could obtain was a hut twelve feet square and six feet high, and so open that it was necessary by means of blankets and bedcovers to stop out the wind and rain. After this he got two small rooms in a Highland ferry-house, and when a friend came to visit him, he was obliged to part with one of these, and his wife and children slept on the floor. Even this accommodation he was compelled to surrender. . . . In March, 1847, he and his wife paid a visit to Glasgow, chiefly with the view of obtaining medical advice. Mrs. Davidson's case was one in which medical skill was unavailing. She died in Glasgow, on the 24th May, 'another victim,' says her husband, 'to the cruel oppression of the site-refusing proprietors of Scotland.'"†

In those parishes where the land was in the hands of a single hostile proprietor, the difficulties were much enhanced. In the Presbytery of Arbroath, the first Lord Panmure was well known as a site-refuser, and several of the ministers on his estates were driven to live at a distance. Dr. Wilson, now of Dundee, then at Carmylie, was obliged to reside about seven miles from the scene of his labours, "at an old farm-house, given," as he states, "rent free, through the generous kindness of Mr. David Anderson, Westhaven." For two years he had to walk those seven miles going and returning in the discharge of his duty.

So also Mr. Kirk, of Arbirlot—father of Dr. Kirk, surgeon to the expedition of Dr. Livingstone, and now Consul at Zanzibar—

* Parker Mss., Pres. of Skye. † *Ibid.* Pres. of Abertarff.

had to leave his parish and live in Arbroath. On the 31st December, 1846, he writes: "Another year has gone. Shall I live through that which succeeds? I feel myself carried forward to the first rank—exposed more, as it were, to the arrows of death. Three years and seven months have elapsed since I left the manse. I have walked to preach the Gospel on Sabbath during this period one thousand and fifty-six miles, week-day duty requiring much more. I have thus had, in three and a-half years, to walk upwards of two thousand miles to do ministerial work; yet I may set up my Ebenezer." The following is a specimen of the week-day work: "Spent the forenoon visiting sick; home; left at four to attend a meeting announced on Sabbath; the night damp and roads bad. After the people met, a storm of wind and rain came on. In a lull of the storm, set off at nine to return home. The lull was short. I had to brave the blast from the sea, cold and wet. The rain penetrated every part of my dress. The frost still bound the earth, which refused to admit a drop of rain. The night dark: came upon a large body of navvies; dashed on one of them, then on another. Reached home by eleven at night, in a state of weariness not well to be conceived." Other notices of excessive fatigue, and frequent sickness and fainting, follow; but the work goes on until, in February, 1847, he is laid up with severe illness—fainted. His reflections were at this time very solemn. After years of such exposure, he was able to leave Arbroath and return to the parish; but it was with broken health, which took the form of heart-complaint, under which he became gradually weaker, and ultimately sank in 1858.*

The account of the refusal at Shieldaig shows the feelings with which the Free Church was too frequently regarded. At the Disruption, says the Rev. Colin Mackenzie, "the whole population, with one exception, adhered to the Free Church and to my ministry. After my return from Edinburgh in June, 1843, I did not preach in the parish church, but did not, like most other ministers, quit the manse, just because there was no house of any kind to be got within the bounds of the parish, or within many miles beyond it, to which I could remove with

* Parker Mss., Pres. of Arbroath.

my aged mother and other two members of my family. . . . Meantime I made several applications to the proprietor of Shieldaig, . . . by letter, who always replied with a positive refusal, at the same time assuring me that the Free Church would get no footing on any part of his property. Before going south to the General Assembly, which met at Glasgow, I determined to make one more attempt to obtain a site by applying to him personally at his residence at Applecross House, hoping that, from the intimate and friendly terms on which he and I always were from boyhood, that on my own account, as a near relative, he might consent. On the contrary, he received me coldly, and expressed his wonder that I had taken upon me to call upon him, and expect that he would receive me, after acting so foolish a part as to bring myself and family to beggary at the very time when, as M.P. for the county, he had it in his power, and was determined to promote me to a better living; at the same time giving me to understand that he would not only not grant my request, but that I must quit the manse and remove myself from the parish of Shieldaig and from his estate, otherwise he would make my life bitter to me, as he was determined to interdict all his tenants from giving me so much as one apartment in any of their poor dwellings. Perceiving his hostile feeling towards me, I got up to get quarters for the night at a miserable inn not far from the mansion-house; but he objected, stating that I should have Highland hospitality for the night, but that I must be off after breakfast next morning, and he hoped that I should never again use the same liberty of calling upon him, since he could not now recognise me as a minister, nor yet as an old friend." *

But of all such cases the most conspicuous was that of the Duke of Sutherland. Mr. Mackenzie, of Farr, describes the circumstances: "However numerous the adherents, yet the people were poor, and in a state of dependence as tenants-at-will and cottars. Against them there was a powerful Duke, supported in his disapproval of the Free Church by his array of factors and agents, the minor heritors in the county, and all the wealthy sheep and corn-farmers, who acquired fortunes by occu-

* Dis. Mss. xlvi., Rev. C. Mackenzie, Shieldaig.

pying the lands from which the peasantry had been expelled. . . . I, in common with all the members of this Presbytery who adhered to the Convocation resolutions, had a trial before the Disruption as to our fidelity. It was stated, soon after the Convocation, by one of the Duke of Sutherland's officials, that should our resolutions be carried into effect, not an inch of ground would be given within the bounds of our Presbytery whereon to build a church and manse. . . . At the hour of the Disruption, perhaps in no county in Scotland was there a darker cloud over the prospects of the Free Church." *

It is painful to tell how these forebodings of trial were realised. The account of the two Mackenzies, of Tongue—father and son—attracted much notice. The family had occupied the manse, a very beautiful residence, for nearly a hundred years. At the age of seventy-two the elder Mr. Mackenzie, afflicted with asthma, had to leave his house and send his family forty miles away to Thurso, because the only accommodation he could get for himself and his son (his assistant and successor) was a room and bed-closet in a mean cottage, for which the rent was four shillings a-week. In these circumstances the son was attacked by fever, and both died—the father on the 30th of June, and the son on the 26th July, 1845. During that illness, Dr. Guthrie, of Edinburgh had gone to see them, and afterwards described his visit in an address to the General Assembly.

"I fancy most of the members of this House are aware that I had the pain—the exquisite pain—and I must at the same time say, the very high privilege, of seeing that noble father and his no less noble son witnessing, under the most affecting circumstances, a good and blessed confession. I shall never forget to my dying day the scene I witnessed at the manse at Tongue; or rather—I forget myself—in a mean, at least a humble cottage, to which that father and son had retired, parting with family, rather than part with their flock. I say, I will never forget this. I was never so unmanned by any sight I ever saw, if I may call it being unmanned, for I am not ashamed of being affected by such a sight. I shall not venture to describe what I saw. I shall only say, in the words of Scripture,

* Dis. Mss. xx. pp. 5, 12.

that they were lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their deaths they were not divided. I rise to bear my humble testimony to the worth of these men, I should rather say, to the worth of these martyrs for those great principles for which we abandoned our earthly all. They lay on their dying beds in peace. Never shall I forget the sight of that venerable old man, a man who would have adorned any church, who would have adorned any society. Never shall I forget seeing him in his mean cottage, nature exhausted, buried in the sleep he had not tasted the livelong night, his venerable locks streaming over the chair where he was sitting asleep, for in the bed he could not sleep. I went up to him and intended to awake him, but thought it cruelty to do so. I passed him over and over again in the room, and still he slept on, and after seeing his son lying in an adjoining closet on a fever-bed—a son that had never closed his eyes all the night long either, for his father's groans were like daggers in his heart—I left the house, and the last words I heard that son say on this earth were: 'Mr. Guthrie, this is hard enough, but I thank God I do not lie here a renegade. My father's conscience and mine are at peace.' Yes, sir, they are now at peace, both of them. They are gone to the place where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest. I believe that the memory of these two men will live fresh in the minds of the people of the parish of Tongue for generations yet to come." *

Another of these sufferers was Mr. Baird, of Cockburnspath. "I went out last winter," says Dr. Guthrie, "and found him in a mean cottage, consisting of two rooms—a but and a ben—with a cellar-like closet below, and a garret above. Night came on, and I asked where I was to sleep. He showed me a closet. The walls were damp — no fire could be put in it. I looked horrified at the place, but there was no better. 'Now,' said I, 'Mr. Baird, where are you to sleep?' 'Come,' said he, 'and I will show you.' So he climbed a sort of trap-stair, and got up to the garret, and there was the minister's study, with a chair, a table, and a flock-bed. A few inches above were the slates of the roof, without any covering, and as white with hoar-

* Parker Mss., Pres. of Tongue.

frost within as they were white with snow without. When he came down the next morning, after a sleepless night, I asked him how he had been, and he told me that he had never closed an eye from the cold. His very breath on the blankets was frozen as hard as the ice outside. I say that man lies in a martyr's grave." *

Hardly less painful was the case of Mr. M'Vean, of Iona, who was exposed to many hardships after leaving the manse. First he crossed over to the Mull coast, to an old house, which, with the exception of one unoccupied room, had been used only as a granary for many years. It proved so open to wind and cold, that all winter there was illness in his family, and after the death of one of his children he was driven to seek shelter elsewhere. The schoolmaster in Iona let him his house, but was so severely handled by his Presbytery (Established Church) for the countenance shown to the Free Church minister, that he was obliged to give Mr. M'Vean notice to quit. Rather than remove to Tobermory, a distance of forty-five miles, Mr. M'Vean took refuge in a small and most uncomfortable hut. It was there he was found by the well-known Dr. Merle D'Aubigné, who could not refrain from tears at the sight. "When entering," he says in a letter to Dr. Chalmers, "one of the miserable huts on the shore, I heard that there, almost exposed to the inclemency of the weather, the minister and his family had taken refuge. . . . Then I better understood the Free Church. I better understood the devotion and the sacrifice of so many of your friends." †

These trials were not rendered less difficult to bear when one took into account the obvious design which the opponents had in view. In returning from the fever-stricken cottage at Tongue, Dr. Guthrie says, "I confess I felt my corruption rising." But afterwards, he adds, "The object was to crush the minister—not for the sake of injuring him—God forbid that I should say that—but to compel him to leave the district, that thus the flock of the Free Church might be scattered." It was the old policy of the persecuting Stuarts revived, and adapted to modern circumstances.

* Memoir of Dr. Guthrie, ii. p. 89. † Parker Mss., Rev. Mr. M'Vean.

Were ministers, then, to be driven from the post where God had set them?

An old military officer, Charles Maitland Christie, Esq. of Durie, once said, in the General Assembly: "You are aware, Moderator, that when two hostile armies come into the vicinity of each other, it is not unusual to place pickets of defence in front of the main body. . . . I, sir, have had the honour of being placed in such a picket, and when I was told by my commanding officer to consider it not as a picket of alarm, but as a picket of defence, I felt that if the enemy should advance upon that picket of the line, it would be my duty to fight there and to die there."* It was with something of this feeling that the men of 1843 prepared to face the hardships of the positions in which God had placed them. How much they were prepared to endure rather than flinch may be seen from the above examples, but one more instance—painful enough in some of its details—may be given, to show how hard the struggle sometimes became.

Mr. Campbell, the minister of Berriedale, in Caithness, relates his experience: "We suffered much hardship as a congregation. We could not get sites for our church and manse for eleven years. . . . The teacher and myself lived in a most miserable place. The people would not dare to receive us into their houses. The teacher, therefore, put a temporary roof upon the ruin of an old cottage. In that miserable place we lived for seven years. . . . If there were heavy rain during the night, there was a pool of water before my bed to welcome my rising in the morning. If there was high wind, the ashes were blown up in my face. The wind had free course under the foundation, the house having been built upon a heap of stones. It was so damp and cold that I had to wear my greatcoat at the fireside. I felt, by degrees, that my life was in danger. My feet began to swell much from the dampness of the place. . . . I walked about a great deal, to prevent my getting worse, if possible. One night I was awakened from sleep by a tremendous noise on the roof of the house, very like the noise of people in danger of shipwreck on the sea-shore. There was a great storm of wind,

* Ten Years' Conflict, vol. ii. p. 175.

which was carrying away the roof. The noise was made by men, who came together to keep the roof on the house, if possible. They raised their voices to the highest pitch, the wind was so high that they could not otherwise hear each other. But, in spite of all their exertions, the roof was carried away, and the curtains of my bed had enough to do to withstand the storm. They have been more than once, upon other occasions, flapping about me like the sails of a ship in a storm.

"Feeling my life thus exposed to danger, I set about building a school-house and teacher's dwelling-house—the teacher's house first. We entered the teacher's house before it was plastered. We had to remove from one room to another till it was finished. It was very damp and uncomfortable, but better than the place we were in."

These trials passed away. Twelve years after the Disruption saw the congregation in a new church and the minister in a comfortable manse. Though he had been thus successful after a fight so hard, he shows little disposition to take credit either for his trials or his success. "We are apt," he says, "to complain of our trials and losses, but what are they in comparison with those of the first preachers of the Gospel? We have suffered much, yet it is not impossible that some may have suffered as much for His sake, and have forsaken His service at last. We have need of praying, like David, 'Lord, search me, and know my heart: try me, and know my thoughts.' We have need of the operation of the Holy Spirit to number us among the blessed." *

It is interesting to notice how calmly many of the sufferers were prepared to make the best of the circumstances in which they were placed. One of the most beautiful manses in the south of Scotland was that at Ruthwell, formerly referred to. The garden and all the grounds round the house and church had been laid out in exquisite taste, showing not a few objects of singular interest. At one point stood the far-famed Runic cross, which Dr. Duncan had restored and made known to archæologists, while at another there had been built into the walls of a garden-house the sandstone slabs from Corncockle

* Parker Mss., Pres. of Caithness.

Moor, showing those footprints which, at their first discovery, had startled the geological world. How cheerfully all this was left by the old minister, we have already seen. At first the difficulties in the way of obtaining accommodation had been great. "At last the heart of an old neighbour was inclined to offer shelter to her old minister; and though no Free Churchwoman herself, Miss Dickson packed herself in one end of her cottage, and allowed us to pay a rent for the other; which we did thankfully, though the accommodation was inconvenient for both parties." After a time this arrangement had to terminate. "We used to console each other by saying that our Father knew we could not in our climate live under a hedge. We felt much at a loss, and having looked all around in vain for help, we committed it to Him, and waited for direction. We had promised to remove on the 1st of May. It wanted four days of the time, and was Saturday night. Dr. Duncan was called to hear the will of an old lady read, whose death produced some changes. At eight o'clock he came in and said, 'We are to have a house to cover us. W. B. is to remove into the large house, and on Tuesday, at noon, we may begin to clean his cottage.' I do not stop to say that it is damp, very smoky, and part of it unceiled. There were so many people glad for us, and we ourselves were so filled with thankfulness, that we seemed to have found a palace. We saw that we had been left to the last moment, that we might discern more clearly the hand that provided. It seemed far more the people's concern than our first removal. They came and cleaned and scrubbed, whitewashing the very outside of the cottage. Then they carried furniture, and by mid-day on the 1st May, we had entered our new resting-place. No one of all who helped us on that occasion would receive anything for their labour. Indeed, we felt that this little event of the cottage drew into exercise more faith on our part and more love on the people's than all that had preceded it. The only pang in it was the parting word of those who had helped us with such a free heart—'Now, we hope there will be no more heard of removing to Edinburgh.' A man who had a field behind our house, without saying anything about it, opened his hedge and put in

a gate, so that we could walk in a very pleasant place, and often escaped from the smoke of the house to the green field, with its little plots of wild roses and honeysuckles; and there, with our books, we were as happy as we could have been in the garden, whose every graceful nook was so endeared to us,"*

The reader may feel some interest in comparing this narrative of Mrs. Duncan with the account of another observer: "Dr. Henry Duncan, the originator of savings banks, left a manse which his taste during forty years had made a paradise. He took up his abode in a labourer's cottage on the side of the turnpike road from Dumfries to Carlisle. It contained a room, a kitchen, and a bed-closet. Behind it lay a great old quarry, with unsightly rubbish mounds, and deep pools of water. I saw the fine old gentleman in his roadside cottage about the year 1846. He entertained his company, a few ministers in the neighbourhood, with the polished courtesy of the old school. Dinner over, he said, 'Will you go into the drawing-room, gentlemen?' His guests, puzzled where the drawing-room could be, rose and followed him. Opening the back door of the cottage, 'My drawing-room is the great drawing-room of Nature,' he said. We stepped out, and there was the deserted quarry, its rubbish mounds all planted with spruce and larch; winding paths led among them; a rustic bridge made by his own hands spanning a space between two pools, and the whole huge deformity transformed into beauty."† He said to his daughter and her husband, who had come to visit him—Mr. Dodds, of Belhaven: "They talk of sacrifices; I never can feel that I have made any. I never was more happy. I have all that my necessities require. The only thing that would have made me unhappy would have been to act contrary to conscience."

There is yet another of these painful cases which it would be improper to omit, that of the Rev. Duncan M'Gillivray, of Lairg, a venerable minister, who was eighty years of age at the Disruption. The only house in the parish to which he could retire was the cottage of a widowed daughter, the use of which

* Dis. Mss. xvi. pp. 9, 10.

† Life of Dr. Cunningham, p. 192. Rev. James Mackenzie.

had been given her by the Duke of Sutherland. The week before Mr. M'Gillivray left the manse, Mr. Gunn, the factor, called for Mrs. Henderson, and gave her significant hints as to the inexpediency of her father's going to the cottage. At last she put the question: "Do you mean, Mr. Gunn, that I am not to admit my own father into my house when he has no other place to go to?" His answer was: "Just that, Mrs. Henderson;" and her reply was, that so long as she was there her father should share her cottage. Soon after he came to be her guest, Mr. Taylor, the Duke's law-agent, called for him, and said twice and very significantly, "Mr. M'Gillivray, I wish you to know that Mr. Gunn has acquainted me that you have come to reside here without his permission." Convinced that the Duke's agents had resolved to get rid of them, and dreading the idea of being ejected in winter, both father and daughter left,* the father going to reside with his sons—first at Dairsie, and afterwards at Mains. But after all this, he would allow no one to make much of his trials. "I have no difficulty whatever," he said, "in the matter; I see clearly that Christ's glory demands the sacrifice." He has been known to leave the room when severe remarks were made in his hearing against the Duke of Sutherland. Few things were more touching than the prayers which he continued to offer to the last on behalf of that nobleman, and there is reason to believe that in his case "the effectual fervent prayer of the righteous man" was not offered in vain. It is due to the Duke of Sutherland to say that, after a time, his feeling changed, and sites were granted all over his property.

* For fuller details see *Witness*, 25th October, 1843.

## XX. The Advancement of Religion a Fruit of the Disruption.

It is impossible to close the first part of these annals without referring to the most important of all subjects in connection with the Church—the advancement of vital religion in the land. We have seen what reason there is to believe that the revival of religion prepared the way for the Disruption; but one is naturally led to ask whether the cause did not suffer when the controversy fairly broke out. For ten years and more, all over Scotland, there was contention everywhere. Families were divided, children at school took sides, bitter pamphlets were poured forth from the press, the whole frame-work of society was dislocated, and high above the turmoil were heard the voices of Scotland's most venerated ministers, engaged in keen debate. In such an atmosphere as this would not the cause of vital godliness decay, and the Christian graces themselves languish and wither? So men often asked reproachfully during the progress of the conflict, but the result proved far otherwise.

That the alloy of human infirmity mingled in the struggle none were so ready to confess as the controversialists themselves, but a great responsibility had been put into their hands, and, amidst difficulties and imperfections, they must strive faithfully to uphold the cause of Christ. Just in proportion as the consciousness of this came home to their minds, the controversy was safe. "The ecclesiastical turmoil," as Dr. Bonar expresses it, "seemed to elevate, not to depress; to spiritualise, not to secularise."

This is not the place to discuss the philosophy of such a subject, but experience everywhere shows that the Church has

far more to dread from the quiescent indifference of peaceful worldly times than from the shock of controversy quickening the intellectual activities of men. It is a remarkable fact that the most deplorable division which ever rent our Presbyterianism was coincident with the time—from 1650 to 1660—when the Church had the firmest hold on all classes of the people, and when the religion and morality of the country rose to a far higher level than ever was attained before or since. A contemporary historian states: "I verily believe there were more souls converted to Christ in that short period of time than in any season since the Reformation, though of triple its duration. Nor were there ever greater purity and plenty of the means of grace. . . . I have lived many years in a parish where I never heard an oath, and you might have ridden many miles before you heard any. Also you could not, for a great part of the country, have lodged in a family where the Lord was not worshipped. . . . Nobody complained more of our Church government than our taverners, whose ordinary lamentation was, their trade was broke, people were become so sober." *

Such were the results wrought out among the Scottish people by our Church at a time when, from the highest nobleman to the humblest peasant, she had the whole community within her pale. A lamentable controversy, indeed, raged within her borders, but the Gospel did its blessed work none the less, and with this outstanding fact in our Church's history, we need feel no surprise if in connection with the ten years' conflict there were tokens of success in the spiritual field, for which our Church had reason to give thanks.

There was one thing, at least, on account of which all the friends of religion might well be grateful: the ministers of the Convocation had stood true to their pledges in the day of trial. The world had ridiculed the bare idea of 400 of their number laying down their livings for conscience' sake. A triumph for the cause of irreligion was confidently expected by the more careless.

*Kirkton's History, pp. 63, 64. Attempts have been made to cast doubt on these statements by some who had little sympathy with Kirkton's religious views. For a complete vindication of his accuracy the reader may refer to a pamphlet by the Rev. Dr. Brown, of Langton. Letter to Dr. Chalmers, &c., 1833.

After all the loud professions of the Evangelical party, the love of stipend was expected to prevail, pledges would be cast aside, some back-door would be found, and when men were seen coming down from the high ground they had so boldly taken, the world was prepared with its scornful laugh to greet the ignominious retreat. One of the English judges, on being told by a Scottish M.P. that the holder of the richest benefice in Scotland had pledged himself to resign it, replied, with a sneer, "I will believe it when I see it." At Perth, "many of the worldly and ungodly in the town and neighbourhood were eagerly watching the event, and had, it is understood, considerable bets depending on the conduct of particular ministers. When, contrary to their expectations, the Disruption actually took place on such an extensive scale, they seemed completely taken by surprise." * The system of bets on the result is said to have been common in the clubs of Edinburgh and elsewhere, and the surprise felt at Perth was very generally shared in, over the country. When the news of the Disruption day reached Glasgow, and was announced on the Exchange, the usual busy hum of voices suddenly ceased, and silence fell on the assembled merchants. For a brief moment the reality of Christian principle seemed suddenly to reveal itself even to men of the world. As Mr. Lewis says of Dundee, "Even those most opposed to us respected our courage and constancy." It was religion itself that had been put on trial in the persons of its most zealous professing friends, and if all the truth could be told as to the kind of talk that had gone on in those clubs and elsewhere among worldly circles, it would be seen how great a danger had been escaped from.

"If we had failed in the day of trial," says Mr. Thomson, of Muckhart, "and become traitors and renegades, infidelity would, ere long, have walked triumphantly through the length and breadth of the land." Mr. Mather, of Stanley, tells of one of those ministers who had turned back in the day of trial, and who, in the hearing of an elder of the United Secession, was railing at the Free Church, when he received the reply: "Mr. ——, had all the non-intrusion ministers acted as you have

* Dis. Mss. iv. p. 8.

done, a greater injury would have been done to the interests of religion and morality than could have been repaired by a hundred years' preaching."* All the friends of our common faith in all the churches might well rejoice that the sacrifice which had been laid on the altar of Christian principle had at least taken away this ground for reproach. "There is something," says Dr. Guthrie, "more eloquent than speech. I am bold to say that Hall, Foster, or Chalmers never preached a sermon so impressive or sublime as the humblest minister of our Church did on the 18th of May, when he gave up his living to retain his principles, and joined the crowd which, bursting from the doors of St. Andrew's Church, with Chalmers at its head, marched out, file by file, in steady ranks, giving God's people reason to weep tears, not of grief, but of joy." †

But not only had a great danger been escaped from; a new impulse had been given to the spiritual work of the Church—the grand object for which she exists on earth.

One signal proof of this was the spirit of prayer which showed itself all through the conflict. Days were again and again set apart by the Church in which her people were invited to public and private prayer. In November, 1842, for example, an earnest appeal was widely circulated, calling all the friends of the Church to "the duty of pouring out their hearts to God in frequent and fervent prayers, in the view of the approaching Convocation. . . . Let those occupying a private station in the Church bear in mind that as Aaron and Hur of old bore up the hands of Moses while Israel was contending with Amalek, and as the people in the wilderness brought to the service of the tabernacle according to their several abilities, . . . so those in the most retired and private spheres may, by prayer, render just as real and essential a service to this assembly of ministers as those who shall be called to take the most active share in its proceedings."

In the Disruption Mss. there are traces of how these appeals were responded to. "Looking back as far as 1839, I recollect that, during the sitting of the General Assembly that year, there was a more than ordinary concern manifest in all our

* Dis. Mss. v. p. 6. † Life, vol. ii. p. 59.

public and private religious exercises [at Farr] for the Divine blessing and presence on and with the ministers and elders of our Church. This concern was increasing during the years following." *

"A little before my leaving to attend the Convocation, I was much impressed with an ejaculatory prayer of an old woman, who had been long bedrid, whom I was visiting [in Gartly]. I had been telling her where and for what purpose I was going. The poor woman raised herself as well as she could in her bed, and prayed fervently that the Lord would be with the ministers who were to assemble, and enable them to stand together and be faithful to Jesus, the Church's only Head and King." †

At Tobermory, in the Island of Mull, the parish had been under "a Moderate ministry, and there were few among the people who truly feared God. One of the brightest lights of the place was an old man, a weaver, named John M'Innes. He was a man of faith and prayer. . . . Previous to and about the time of the Disruption, he was known often to spend most of the night in prayer—literally wrestling till the breaking of the day, that the Lord would give grace to His witnesses to be faithful in the day of trial. Some time before, he one night came out of his closet with his face shining with joy. He said he firmly believed that at no distant time the Lord was going to send the Gospel to the poor Isle of Mull. . . . When the Disruption took place, the people seemed instinctively to turn to M'Innes's house, round which, the first Sabbath, five hundred assembled for admission. Though the Church which I saw is not yet opened, the number of adherents is about 1000. . . . The minister is Mr. M'Lean, in the settlement of whom in the place old John M'Innes's prediction has been eminently fulfilled." ‡

"I think about this time [after the Convocation] many of my people [at Errol] as well as myself experienced an increased spirit of seriousness and prayer. One of the first things that impressed them very deeply in this way was the circumstance that one of my co-presbyters, while assisting at the communion, which took place about three weeks after the Convocation, dwelt very

* Dis. Mss. xx. p. 1. † *Ibid.* xvii. p. 7.

‡ Mss. by W. Dickson, Esq., of notes taken on the spot.

largely in prayer on the trial that was coming on the minister and people, and represented that as likely to be the last time they would meet together in that place for the celebration of that solemnity. Many, as well as the parties immediately concerned, were affected by the way in which that brother prayed for sustaining faith to the writer and his partner in life." *

"My soul often goes out at the throne of grace on behalf of Larbert and Dunipace. May the Disruption be more blessed to them than days of peace!" †

These extracts may serve to indicate the spirit of prayerfulness which was spreading throughout the congregations and among the ministers.

Another circumstance no less deserving of notice was the earnest preaching of the Gospel, and the way in which ministers were pressing home its invitations. Amid the heat and fervour of controversy men seemed to grow more urgent, and the very events which were transpiring were dwelt on as giving impressiveness to the appeal. We see this in the address written by Dr. James Buchanan, and circulated by the Convocation among the people of Scotland, in which, after arguing the public questions at issue, they urge men solemnly to consider the great question of personal salvation. "Are there none among you who have often been solemnly warned to flee from the wrath to come, and affectionately invited to close with Christ, who are still living without Christ and without hope in the world? Are there none who, while the throne of grace has been at all times accessible, have habitually neglected secret prayer? Are there none of your houses in which there is no domestic altar? . . . A season of trial has often been a time of reviving from the presence of the Lord; and it is our hearts' desire and prayer for you that, now when the clouds are gathering, and a storm seems to be at hand, the careless may be awakened to serious thought, and may be found safe in the ark when the deluge comes, and that the faithful may be strengthened to endure, as seeing Him who is invisible. . . . In contending for Christ's crown as the King of saints, and your right to serve Him as Master in His own house, according to the rule of His Word, see that you obey Christ as

* Dis. Mss. xi. p. 3. † Life of M'Cheyne, p. 140.

your Lord, and walk worthy of the vocation wherewith you are called."

In a similar spirit, ministers in their own parishes availed themselves of the opportunity, and we give two examples to show how this was done. "It is pre-eminently necessary," said Dr. John Bonar, of Larbert, "that every man should look to his own saving interest in Christ. Have we such an interest in Him? Have we anything in Christ really possessed which would counterbalance the loss of the earthly things which are perilled? Have we anything in religion for the sake of which it would be wise to suffer the loss of all earthly things? He would be a fool to throw away all the advantages of this life if he had nothing after all in the life to come; but he would be infinitely worse than a fool who would, for the sake of the world, sell his soul or betray his Saviour. See to it, then, that you gain the soul and hold the Saviour. 'I bless God,' said James Guthrie, when under sentence of death for maintaining the Headship of Christ, 'I die not as a fool dieth. I know what I die for, and I know it is worth dying for.' See that ye know what ye suffer for, and how much it is worth suffering for."*

"And now, my dear friends, I cannot close without remembering that God appears to be preparing, by the solemn movements of His providence, for a process of sternest sifting, when those of you who are Christians by mere profession will probably be separated from those who are Christians in deed and in truth. . . . Let me, therefore, urge upon you all the vast and infinite importance of closing, in right earnest, with the overtures of the Gospel, and entering with the Divine Redeemer into a covenant never to be forgotten. If you rest satisfied with anything short of this, it is not for a moment to be supposed that you can stand in the day of visitation and trial."†

If the approach of the Disruption, however, was viewed in this light, the change, when it actually came, brought with it a new and far more serious responsibility, for not only were

* Reasons for Religious People, &c., pp. 5, 6.

† Rev. Mr. Wallace, of Hawick, *Witness*, 28th December, 1842.

parishes and whole districts, formerly closed, laid open to the preaching of the Gospel, but the outgoing ministers, to an extent never before equalled, had the ear of the people, who were eager and longing to hear the Gospel from their lips. Of the solemn responsibility arising out of this, Dr. Candlish reminded the first Assembly: "I trust we have now made up our minds *to look only to the great prospects before us, and have dismissed all bitterness and wrath, so that in all that has occurred, we now recognise, not the instrumentality of man, but the doing of the Lord.* . . . We have cause to wonder at this condescension of the Lord, in having counted us worthy to bear such a testimony before Christendom. But let us now address ourselves to the work on hand. . . . A very weighty responsibility rests on us. We have been instrumental throughout all the land in exciting a thirst for the preaching of the Gospel, and if now we shall slack our exertions, and fold our hands, and grow weary, unquestionably we shall incur the heavy responsibility of leaving the fields which are now white unto the harvest unreaped and ungathered. . . . What remaineth but to gird up the loins of our mind, to watch with prayer, labouring to win souls unto Christ, and *coveting nothing as a recompense for all the sacrifices we have been enabled to make, but that ours may be the glorious reward of those who have turned many to righteousness.*"*

Before giving examples to show how this work was carried out, there is one circumstance which must be borne in mind, if one would understand the situation—viz., the line of distinction which separated between the Establishment and the Free Church. Nothing connected with the movement was more obvious than that, as a general rule, the more earnest and spiritually-minded among both ministers and people had gone to form the Free Church. The consciousness of this, as may be seen from certain of their own statements recently published, weighed heavily on the more far-seeing friends of the Establishment. It was, however, only what might have been expected in the very nature of things. Not only did it require a certain degree of earnestness for a man to cast in his lot with those who were preparing to share the sacrifices, and provide for the support of the outgoing

* *Witness*, 23rd May, 1843.

ministers, but it could hardly be that the more careless members of the Church could feel any real interest in the Headship of Christ, or in His crown-rights as Redeemer. That not a few of those who adhered to the Establishment did so from conscientious feelings is true, but the mass of those men whose religion was a mere form naturally remained where they got all they cared for without trouble or sacrifice. Some of the anecdotes which obtained currency in the country show what the popular impression on the subject was. At Carmylie, "in stormy weather, during the winter of 1844-45, the congregation had to leave their tent and worship in the barn of Mr. Kydd, farmer at Mains of Carmylie. One stormy Sabbath, when the congregation were repairing as usual to the barn, the congregation of the Establishment were also on their way to the parish church. Some of the members of the different congregations, accordingly, met and crossed each other. A member of the Established Church thus accosted an elder of the Free Church, 'Well, John, you are on the way to the barn to get a thrashing,' alluding to the reputed severity of the minister's preaching. 'Na, na,' said John, 'the thrashing is ower, and we're now at the dichtin' (winnowing). D'ye not see the chaff blowing down yonder?' pointing to the Established Church."* In this case the love of repartee had something to do with the strength of the statement, but similar views meet us in the deliberately expressed opinions of ministers, speaking from their own experience. "There were exceptions, certainly," says Dr. Foote, of Aberdeen, "some going with us who had not given any evidence of vital religion, and some remaining behind, of whom better things might have been expected; but the division, in the main, turned out just as I looked for."†

"I have always had reason to conclude that those who came out along with me were, with very few exceptions, the most pious and godly of the parish."‡

"My expectation was, that, if the Disruption should take place, a very considerable part of my congregation would remain faithful. There was much prayer among them, both social

* Parker Mss., Rev. W. Wilson, Pres. of Arbroath.
† Dis. Mss. xxiv. ‡ *Ibid.* xii. Cleish.

and otherwise, before and during the memorable Assembly. . . . The praying part of them have favourably realised my expectations." *

The division which thus took place was, in many respects, painful, yet it drew the more devoted followers of Christ closer to each other, and inasmuch as the communion of saints is one of the means of grace, it brought with it spiritual advantages which both ministers and people were not slow to acknowledge. Mr. Thomson, of Muckhart, tells how, in consequence of the Disruption, "a very great and decided change had taken place in the whole aspect of the congregation. . . . There is much more of cordial and kindly interest in each other. I have got much better acquainted with them than I did for the ten preceding years. I have been led, from greater frankness in intercourse with them, to believe there are more of God's people among them than I at first anticipated."†

It was in the pastoral work itself that the results were most visible in the increasing earnestness both of preachers and hearers, the greater purity of communion, and the new life that was thrown into all departments of Christian work. The following extracts, referring to different districts of the country, will show how widely the impulse was felt.

"I am conscious," says Dr. Lorimer [Glasgow], "speaking generally, of more liberty and freedom, both in prayer and preaching. . . . There is more lively attention, too, on the part of the people to the Word preached. More than one has assured me that my entire services come home with much more power to the heart and conscience than they once did. From time to time I hear of cases of spiritual good. Among the believing members of my flock there is more activity and prayer, and greater zeal for the good of others. This is particularly apparent among the youth of both sexes, who assemble in prayer meetings, and distribute tracts, and teach in Sabbath schools."‡

"I have no hesitation in stating that the Disruption has had a most beneficial effect on the minds of many of my flock, and especially among the young. . . . A considerable majority of this class adhere to the Free Church, and, I am happy to say,

* Dis. Mss. xv. † *Ibid.* xxviii. p. 8. ‡ *Ibid.* i. p. 8.

now manifest a much livelier interest in spiritual things than before. The institution of a very interesting meeting, for religious improvement and prayer, on the morning of the Lord's day, has been the result. There is, likewise, a greater readiness displayed by qualified persons to act as Sabbath-school teachers —a circumstance which gives me particular delight. Another pleasing fruit of the separation has been a spirit of sincere cordiality among my people as a congregation, a new bond of mutual attachment has been created, which promises to be productive of lasting good."

"There has been great and spiritual concern manifested [at Ardoch], and much greater solemnity in hearing the Gospel than before the Disruption, especially on sacramental occasions, when the sufferings of our Lord brought nigh made His people forget their own. . . . There has also been exhibited much greater union of heart among the members of the congregation."*

"The cause of vital godliness has been promoted by the Disruption [Lesmahagow]. My observation leads me to think that, both before and since that event, more attention has been paid to the preaching of the Gospel from Sabbath to Sabbath, and also to the duties of secret and family religion. Generally speaking, a deeper interest is felt in spiritual subjects; but, alas, it is still with us the day of small things. . . . Oh! for a larger outpouring of the Spirit of God to water the weary wilderness."†

"At Humbie, I found my facilities for preaching the Gospel and doing good among the people increased after the Disruption. I myself felt more free both to speak and to act, and my people were more willing and attentive. Our mutual attachment was also increased by our mutual trials."‡

At Arbirlot, Mr. Kirk preached in the barn, which became his church; "but the crowd was often so great that they had to remove to the field, which was no great hardship, the Sabbaths being fine that summer; and the warm devotion of the hearers, and the deep impression made, caused thankfulness and joy. Often did the people speak of the good they got at that time; several have dated their new birth from that period." §

* Parker Mss., Kintore, p. 4.
† Dis. Mss. xxxi. p. 14.
‡ *Ibid.* xxxiii. p. 8.
§ Parker Mss., Pres. of Arbroath.

"The people in general [Muckhart] seem to listen to the Word with much more earnestness. Considerable emotion is from time to time manifested. They seem much more alive to the realities and importance of religion. . . . Some, apparently, have been awakened for the first time, and more quickening and life imparted to those previously renewed." *

"Since the Disruption the most favourable circumstances in our congregation [Collace] have been—the visiting of their districts by the elders in a spiritual manner, and the much purer exercise of discipline. . . . Three months after the Disruption one of the most intelligent, but most careless, lads in the place, but not very friendly to us, was the subject of so decided a change as to be remarked in the whole neighbourhood. He soon found joy and peace in believing, and has proved one of our steadiest and most efficient helps in the deaconship." †

Dr. Lorimer states that "many of the young people who applied for admission to the Lord's table at Bothwell, in the summer of 1844, when I resided there for a short time, and took ecclesiastical charge, . . . attributed their first serious thoughts of religion to that great event [the Disruption], and its immediate consequent widespread and warm gospel preaching." ‡

At Luss, in Dumbartonshire, it is said that, "since the Disruption there have been some awakenings. Great outward changes have taken place on some who were careless, and I have reason to believe that several have been converted. . . . There are inquirers after truth in the congregation who seem to have been brought into a state of concern since the Disruption, and who confess that they spent sleepless nights thinking over it. In reference to this matter, I quote again from Lady Colquhoun: 'A great change since the event is manifest in the spiritual concern of many, and the conversion of some. The appearance of the congregation is also most encouraging, from the apparent impression under the Word preached, frequently from a solemn silence.'" §

Of the work in the Presbytery of Ayr, Mr. Grant gives

* Dis. Mss. xxviii.
† *Ibid.* xxi. p. 2.
‡ *Ibid.* i. p. 9.
§ *Ibid.* xxx. p. 6.

an interesting account:—"The months that followed [the Disruption] were busy months. The eleven who came out undertook to supply ordinances in thirty-three charges. It was no easy task. I find that I preached on an average twenty times a-month. My brethren were equally busy. But two things combined to make it very pleasant work. First, there was little rain—Sabbath seemed invariably to be calm and sunshiny; so that our meeting in the open air was really more pleasant than it would have been in a crowded church. Secondly, the earnestness with which the people listened was most remarkable. I have now lived to see the revival of 1859 and the religious movement of 1874. I cannot, and therefore do not, speak of other localities; but I may safely say that in Ayr the earnestness was deeper and the fruit more abundant in the summer and autumn of 1843 than during any part of my ministry. It was not merely nor mainly a time of ecclesiastical controversy about Church government, but especially a time of deep, earnest, and widespread spiritual awakening. As I gazed on the upturned countenances of the assembled people, they always seemed to me to say, 'Sir, we would see Jesus.'"

Mr. Taylor, of Flisk, enumerates the spiritual benefits arising from the change in his neighbourhood: "First, we got free from the fellowship of many in the ministry with whom we had little sympathy. . . . Secondly, we saw that God was owning the testimony that was borne to the mediatorial glory of His Son in the increased earnestness of those who waited on our ministry, and in bringing out the distinction which it is ever salutary to maintain betwixt the Church and the world. Thirdly, we felt, what has since been a source of constant satisfaction, that we did not provoke Christ to blast our ministry by a deliberate disowning of Him in His kingly office. Probably there was no one feeling which more effectually constrained me to join in the Disruption movement than just the fear that Christ would refuse to remember me among His servants should I have followed any other course. And what I have since seen, both in the personal and ministerial history of many who apostatised from the truth and their own professions, has shown me that the fear was well founded."

In regard to the actual results in his own experience, Mr. Taylor goes on to say: "My labours lay among the farmers, and ploughmen, and villagers. Amongst these God's saving grace was effectually put forth in the Disruption year, and in some of the years which immediately followed. It is true that things did not turn out as I expected and prayed for. My hope was that there would be some marked and outwardly recognisable work of grace, some visible acknowledgment from God of the testimony which, as a Church, we were endeavouring to bear to His glory. Now it was not so; and, doubtless, this expectation was my infirmity. The great scriptural principle was literally fulfilled—the kingdom of God cometh not with observation. There was a measure of hearty interest among the people, and hopefulness in connection with ordinances, which was encouraging. But it was years afterwards before I knew of cases of conversion which had really taken place at that time.

"I remember well the first intimation I got. A poor ploughman, of simple mind and manner, called for his certificate. He had been with us at the Disruption, and had worshipped with us in the barn. He was affected at parting, and he said, with much feeling, 'Sir, the Word gripped me in the barn.' One and another of the most decided of the people have spoken to that as the time when they were affected by spiritual things as they had never been before."*

What Mr. Taylor had longed to see in Fife—a marked revival of religion—took place in the Island of Skye, simultaneously with the Disruption. It was carefully inquired into on the spot during the following year, by W. Dickson, Esq., to whom, as Convener of the Committee on Sabbath Schools, the Church is so deeply indebted. Some portions of his notes taken at the time may tend to show the reality and interesting nature of the work.

"The awakening first began in Skye about the month of April, 1843, at Unish, a small village on the west side of the island, where for some time Norman M'Leod, an old soldier, who was present at the landing in Egypt under Sir Ralph Abercrombie, had been stationed in the service of the Gaelic School Society.

"One night Norman was conducting family worship in a cot-

* Dis. Mss. xxxvii. part 2, p. 9.

tage. As was frequently the case, some others from about the doors came in to be present. Among these were some fishermen from the small Island of Issay, which is nearly opposite Unish, on the west coast of Skye. That evening, among the poor fishermen, the work of the Lord first appeared. Their minds were filled with anxiety and distress about their souls. For two days they would not go to bed at all, and would give the old man no rest from speaking to them, praying with them, and reading the Bible. Awakened to a sense of eternal realities, hearing the voice which called the fishermen of Galilee, they left their nets and followed Him. They would not rest, day nor night, till they had fled from the wrath to come. . . ."

"Shortly after the awakening began, the Rev. Roderick M'Leod came from Snizort and preached at Fairybridge, at a place where three roads met; and continued to do so weekly for a long while. On such occasions the gatherings were often very great; the numbers who left their work and came to hear were said to have been sometimes from five to nine thousand. The word was quick and powerful, and many who seemed to feel little while under it, were struck with convictions on their way home, and turned aside to pray. . . . One Wednesday he preached from the words, 'Behold, I stand at the door and knock.' On this occasion the presence of the Spirit of God was manifested in great power. Mr. M'Leod was using the words, 'Oh! it is not my fear that Christ will not accept you, but my fear is that you will not accept of Christ,' when the cries of the people were such that his voice was drowned, and he had to stop speaking. Some, after that solemn sermon, refused to remove from the place. When their friends offered to take them they would cry, 'Oh! will I go away without Christ? will I go home without Christ?' . . . The power which on many occasions about this time attended the preaching of the Word at Fairybridge was overwhelming."

After mentioning many striking cases of conversion among old and young, the details of which, as well as all the facts above stated, were noted down from the lips of the Rev. Roderick M'Leod, the catechists and elders who were personally engaged in the work, and which give reality to the narrative, Mr. Dick-

son records Mr. M'Leod's views as to "the probable ends for which the Lord had at this time made such wonderful displays of His power in the awakening and conversion of sinners. He said that two views in particular had occurred to him. First, that it was for the awakening of the Church of God, so long settling on her lees, to a new and realising sense of the necessity and power of the Spirit's work, and quickening her to renewed effort and diligence for the conversion of perishing souls; and secondly, that the mouth of the scoffer and infidel might be stopped, and the Gospel be anew established in evidence by manifest miracles of grace, in the same way that Christ at first established its truth to an unbelieving world by working miracles of nature."

"It was matter of common remark," Mr. Dickson adds, "both here and in Ross-shire, that wherever any one previously careless became awakened to concern for his soul, he cast in his lot with the ministers and people of the Free Church." *

From these extracts the reader will be able to form some estimate of the kind of work which was going on in Scotland. The year of the Disruption proved to be a great time of evangelistic effort in all parts of the land, and the Word of God had "free course" to the awakening of sinners and quickening of believers. In some localities the work was more quiet, in others its results were more openly manifest, but everywhere there was reason to believe that God in no common measure was giving "testimony to the word of His grace," and owning His servants in bringing sinners to Christ, and building up His people in their most holy faith.

It was not in vain, then, that the sacrifice had been made by the Church, and the testimony borne to the crown-rights of her Lord. Those tokens of success, quietly given in so many congregations, and those 'showers of blessing,' coming down in separate localities, were a rich reward. In no small measure the anticipations of Dr. Duncan were realised. "Those who valued religion and religious privileges, would go out along with their beloved pastors, and rally round them with an interest not unlike that with which our forefathers followed

* Mss. Notes of Journey to Skye, &c., in 1844, by W. Dickson, Esq.

their persecuted ministers to the retired glen and the wind-beaten mountain-side. Is it too much to anticipate as a certain consequence that, while the virtues and graces of these true-hearted men, as well as of their teachers, would be strengthened by the sacrifices which they made for the sake of their adorable Head, a spirit would by the blessing of God be awakened among those who had hitherto cared for none of those things, and, cherished by Divine grace, would spread, as it did of old, till its blessed influences might perhaps be felt over the whole mass of society? . . . Among Christ's ministers, indeed, the event would doubtless occasion many painful privations, and destroy many earthly hopes, but it would shake their hearts more loose from the cherished things of time, and give them freer scope and warmer zeal in their Master's cause, whilst among their people it would light a new and more holy flame. . . . Oh! would not this repay tenfold our privations and sufferings, while it afforded a new proof of that blessed promise, so incomprehensible to worldly men, that those who leave houses and lands and all that is dear to them on earth for the sake of Christ, shall obtain even of blessings in the present life 'manifold more' than they have abandoned, as well as what is infinitely more valuable, 'life everlasting in the world to come?'" *

* Letter from the Minister of Ruthwell to his flock.

# APPENDIX.

## LIST OF DISRUPTION MANUSCRIPTS.

i. St. David's, Glasgow. Rev. J. G. Lorimer, D.D.
ii. See under xxxv.
iii. Muirkirk. Rev. S. W. Reid.
iv. St. Leonards, Perth. Kirk-Session.
v. Stanley. Rev. W. Mather.
vi. Gordon. Rev. J. Fraser.
vii. Nenthorn. Rev. R. Lang.
viii. Muthil. Rev. W. Douglas.
ix. Torosay, Mull. J. Middleton, Esq., Elder.
x. Huntly and Kirkwall. Rev. W. Sinclair.
xi. Errol. Rev. J. Grierson, D.D.
xii. Cleish. Rev. W. W. Duncan.
xiii. Braco, &c. Rev. S. Grant.
xiv. Roslin. Rev. D. Brown.
xv. Deskford. Rev. G. Innes.
xvi. Ruthwell. Rev. H. Duncan, D.D., and Mrs. Duncan.
xvii. Gartly. Rev. J. Robertson.
xviii. Walls. Rev. J. Elder.
xix. Wanlockhead. Rev. J. Hastings.
xx. Farr. Rev. D. Mackenzie.
xxi. Collace. Rev. Andrew A. Bonar, D.D.
xxii. Innerleithen. Rev. J. Montgomery.
xxiii. Kirkbean. Rev. R. Gibson.

XXIV. East Church, Aberdeen. Rev. J. Foote, D.D.
XXV. Madderty and Keiss. Rev. Thos. Gun.
XXVI. Leslie and Premnay. Rev. R. M'Combie.
XXVII. Woodside, Aberdeen. Rev. R. Forbes.
XXVIII. Muckhart. Rev. J. Thomson.
XXIX. Kilsyth. Rev. W. Burns, D.D.
XXX. Luss. Rev. Neil Stewart.
XXXI. Lesmahagow. Rev. A. B. Parker, D.D.
XXXII. Forgan.
XXXIII. Humbie, &c. Rev. J. Dods.
XXXIV. Monkton. Rev. J. M'Farlan.
XXXV. Kirkcaldy and Galston. Rev. R. Macindoe.
XXXVI. Ochiltree. Rev. J. Patrick.
XXXVII. Grangemouth and Flisk. Rev. J. W. Taylor.
XXXVIII. Methlic. Mr. John Brown, Elder, Cairnnorrie.
XXXIX. Stevenston. Rev. Dr. Landsborough.
XL. Aberdalgie and Dunning. Rev. C. Stewart.
XLI. Ayr. Rev. W. Grant.
XLII. Catrine and Johnstone. Rev. W. Hutcheson.
XLIII. Denholm. Rev. J. M'Clymont.
XLIV. Fochabers. Rev. D. Dewar.
XLV. Largo. Rev. R. Lundin Brown.
XLVI. Sheildaig. Rev. C. Mackenzie.
XLVII. Strathfillan. Rev. A. Mackinnon.
XLVIII. Symington. Rev. G. Orr.
XLIX. Moy. Rev. Th. M'Lauchlan, LL.D.
L. Westruther and Elie. Rev. W. Wood, A.M.
LI. Auldearn.
LII. Statement by A. Kerr, Esq.

In addition to the above, the Parker Mss., comprising Returns from Presbytery Clerks, with accompanying documents and papers prepared by Dr. Parker.

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# ANNALS OF THE DISRUPTION.

JAN 18 1935

# ANNALS

OF

# THE DISRUPTION:

CONSISTING CHIEFLY OF EXTRACTS FROM THE

## AUTOGRAPH NARRATIVES

OF

MINISTERS WHO LEFT THE SCOTTISH ESTABLISHMENT

IN

## 1843.

SELECTED AND ARRANGED BY THE

REV. THOMAS BROWN, F.R.S.E.,

FREE DEAN CHURCH, EDINBURGH.

*Published by Authority of the Committee of the Free Church on the Records of Disruption Ministers.*

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# PREFACE.

It has not been found possible to complete these Annals within the limits formerly proposed, partly owing to the increase of materials, and partly because of the wish expressed in various quarters for a somewhat fuller treatment of the subject. There yet remain various points to be considered: the refusal of sites, as brought before Parliament—the case of the *quoad sacra* churches—the support and extension of Missions—and other matters connected with the outward and spiritual progress of the Church. It has been found necessary, also, to defer the brief biographical notices of deceased ministers; but in the Appendix there will be found a list of all who left the Establishment in 1843, showing the names of those who still survive, and of those who have been removed by death.

Among the incidents recorded, there are cases in which no authority is quoted, and no name of person or place is given. These are withheld for obvious reasons;—it should, however, be understood that the circumstances are known, and the statements are derived from reliable sources of information.

The object of this work, and the authority under which it appears, have been fully stated in the preface to the First Part, formerly issued.

The Committee would earnestly repeat their appeal for aid in collecting additional records and memorials referring to the history of Disruption times.

THOMAS BROWN,
*Convener of Committee.*

16 Carlton Street, Edinburgh,
23*rd May*, 1877.

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# ANNALS OF THE DISRUPTION.

## PART II.

### I. The Situation in June, 1843.

The Disruption having taken place under the circumstances already described, we are now to follow the Church when, no longer aided by State endowments, she suddenly found herself involved in all the difficulties of dis-establishment. Outwardly, in the view of the world, the overthrow had been complete. All was lost, save the great cause for which she had contended, and which now more than ever she was bound to maintain at the cost of new sacrifices and efforts. It was not long till these additional demands began to make themselves severely felt. Before two months had passed, hundreds of thousands of the Scottish people had joined her communion; the numbers were increasing, and church-building on an extensive scale was immediately required. Six hundred and sixty-seven ministers and preachers were henceforth dependent on the contributions of the people. The entire staff of missions to Jew and Gentile must be sustained. A college had to be provided, where Dr. Chalmers and Dr. Welsh might continue their labours in training students of divinity for the service of the Church. On behalf of the outed teachers, and for other reasons, a whole system of elementary schools was seen to be necessary. It soon appeared that manses must be built, for it was impossible to leave ministers and their families in such dwellings as have been described. A fund was also needed for retiring allowances to aged and infirm ministers, and another fund for the widows and orphans of the manse; while, to meet the whole of these and other similar requirements, the Church had absolutely nothing but the free-will offerings of her people.

If men could have paused to estimate the magnitude of such demands coming upon a portion of the Scottish people, hitherto little accustomed to the habit of giving, the enterprise might well have seemed utterly hopeless. But there was no time to pause. The call of duty was plain. These things had to be done, and men felt that they must arise, and by the help of God meet as best they might the difficulties of the crisis.

Difficult enough the struggle would certainly have proved even if the hostility of the Church's adversaries had been appeased and had given way, in view of the great sacrifices to which she had submitted. Unfortunately, instead of being left at liberty to do her best in the circumstances, she continued for long to be assailed and thwarted by formidable opposition from various influential quarters. Of this some account must be given.

It is not desirable, indeed, after so many years to reopen the full details of those grievances and hardships, but it is obvious that if a just estimate is to be formed of the Free Church even in her present position, men must know something of what she had to pass through in that earlier time. In judging of her opponents, full allowance ought to be made for the heat of that keen conflict out of which they had just emerged. But while this is done in all fairness, it is right at the same time that the younger members of the Free Church should know amidst what difficulties and at what cost the cause had to be built up. And there are higher than personal or denominational interests involved. To many it has become an important question, how a Church when driven into dis-establishment and dis-endowment can meet the difficulties of the position. These the Free Church was compelled to pass through in 1843, but if the lessons of her experience are to be read aright, we must be careful to keep in view not only her efforts and sacrifices, but the kind of opposition in the face of which her work had to be done.

It is the rebuilding of the Church, then, that the following pages are intended to describe—the rearing up of her external framework on the old foundations, after the overthrow of the Disruption. No attempt, indeed, can be made to give a full history of the time; the materials in the hands of the

Committee are as yet far too imperfect to allow of this being done. It will be enough if the extracts and incidents here recorded shall serve in some degree to recall the general aspect of those busy years. With thankfulness we shall have to speak of help received in the hour of need—of the friends who were raised up—of the generous aid sent from foreign lands—and still more, of what was done by the zeal and self-sacrifice of the Church's own members at home. But in the multiplicity of such details there is one thing which must never be forgotten, the sacredness of the great cause for which all was done and suffered—the spiritual independence of the Church under her Divine Head. And not less must we in humble thankfulness recognise the hand of God leading His people forward step by step—often by a way which they knew not; till, amidst innumerable tokens of blessing, the Church has risen into the position which this day she is permitted to occupy. Surely in the retrospect of all that has been done and passed through, her members may well unite their efforts and their prayers, that, knowing the day of her visitation, the Free Church of Scotland may prove faithful to the high trust which has been given into her hands.

## II. Temporary Places of Worship.

When the time for parting came in 1843, and the parish churches were left, the first object was to obtain temporary accommodation for the worship of God. Different methods were taken according to circumstances, and nothing in the whole history of that period is more remarkable than the strange variety of expedients which suggested themselves to the people in different parts of the country. The details may often seem simple and trivial, but they serve at least to bring into view the exigencies of the time and the difficulties in which our people were often placed.

In towns and the larger villages, the outgoing congregations were largely indebted to their Dissenting brethren, and nothing could exceed the cordiality with which such help was usually given.

As was natural, wherever there were disused places of worship, they were at once applied for, and they passed in some instances by lease or purchase into the hands of the Free Church. The Independent Church at Banchory-Ternan,* for example, was fitted up anew for public worship, and opened on the 21st of May, three days after the Disruption. At Kirriemuir,† an old unoccupied Relief church was rented. In the village of Keith, Strathbogie, where there were two Secession churches, one of them, on a vacancy occurring, united with their brethren and sold their church to the Non-intrusionists. At Ellon,‡ Aberdeenshire, where "it would have been very difficult to procure a site, the way was made plain by a small chapel, with ground for enlargement, having been sold to the Free

* *Witness* Newspaper, 10th June, 1843. † *Ibid.*
‡ Disr. Mss. x. p. 7.

Church by a small body of Independents, most of whom united themselves to the new congregation."

Perhaps the most remarkable case of this kind was at Greenock, where the Gaelic congregation were accommodated in the very last place that could have been expected—one of the old Established churches of the town. "The old West Kirk at the foot of Nicolson Street had been lying in a ruinous condition since the transference of the Rev. Dr. M'Farlan's congregation to the new parish church in Nelson Street in May, 1841. It had been formally condemned by the Presbytery, so far back as 16th October, 1837, as quite unfit for a place of worship, and being allowed to fall into a state of utter decay, it was at this time the very picture of desolation. But it occurred to some of the Gaelic people that if it could be procured temporarily, and the dust which lay deep on pulpit and pew cleared away, some slight repairs to the windows and roof would make it habitable until a new church could be erected. Application was accordingly made to the late David Crawford, Esq., then baron bailie, for permission to occupy it for a time, which was granted in the most courteous manner by that gentleman, so that the congregation worshipped there undisturbed for rather more than twelve months." *

Such instances, it may be well supposed, were exceptional. In towns the usual arrangement was, that Dissenting congregations, at much inconvenience to themselves, gave the use of their churches at separate hours, and the cordial spirit with which this was done should not be forgotten. Three weeks before the Disruption, Dr. Lindsay Alexander at Edinburgh wrote to his neighbour, Dr. Charles Brown: "It gives me much pleasure to be able to inform you that last night, at one of the fullest church meetings at which I ever presided, it was agreed unanimously that the use of our place of worship should be offered to you and your congregation for such time as you might require it after leaving your present place.

"I cannot refuse myself the pleasure of saying that the decision was come to last night by our church without so much as one individual intimating doubt, difficulty, or dissent; and

* Disruption Reminiscences, &c. &c., p. 19, by A. J. Black.

I was especially requested to say to you that we felt it to be a privilege to be enabled to show, in this way, our fraternal regard for those who are acting so conscientious a part as that which you and your brethren are pursuing." *

At Perth, it is stated by the congregation of St. Leonard's: "We met for public worship for the first time in our separate capacity in the Original Secession Meeting-House, which was kindly offered for the purpose after the forenoon's service was over. But this house being too small for the large numbers in attendance, the two large meeting-houses belonging to the United Secession Church were, the following week, also promptly and unanimously offered for our accommodation at meetings of the managers of the respective congregations, which we gladly and gratefully accepted. The hours were so arranged as to suit all parties as conveniently as possible, but the North Secession Congregation put themselves to peculiar inconvenience on our account." †

Thus it was that, in cases far too numerous to mention, Free Church congregations found welcome at the hands of their brethren. The intercourse which followed did much to smooth away any asperities arising from former conflicts, and instances were not wanting in which kindly feelings were fittingly expressed. At Dunblane, on the 14th December, a deputation of ladies connected with the Free Church, headed by Mr. Mackenzie, their minister, and Mr. Cross, sheriff-depute, waited on the minister of the United Secession, and in name of the congregation, presented Mrs. H. with two solid silver salvers as an expression of "high gratification arising from the pastoral and Christian intercourse that has been maintained by the ministers and people of these respective congregations since the period of the Disruption." ‡

But while in towns and villages accommodation was thus readily obtained, there were large districts in which no Dissenting churches existed, and buildings of various kinds had to be turned to account.

In rural parishes the most common arrangement was, that

* *Witness*, 29th April, 1843. † Disr. Mss. iv. p. 4.
‡ *Witness*, 20th December, 1843.

some friendly farmer gave the use of his barn. At Garvald, East Lothian, Mr. Dods "preached in a barn, which had been kindly granted and fitted up as a temporary place of worship, to overflowing congregations. . . . There could not be less than nearly five hundred persons present."*

At Bowden, Roxburghshire, on the 4th June, the Rev. Thos. Jolly preached "in a large barn in the village at the usual hour. The place of meeting was so densely crowded that considerably above a hundred were unable to obtain admittance." †

"In a barn," at Flisk, Fifeshire, Mr. Taylor states, "under the shadow of the Castle of Criech, which belonged in a former age to a branch of the Beaton family, we met on the first Sabbath after the Disruption. We had much anxiety before coming to the place of meeting; but all our fears were removed when we found the place quite full." ‡

A remarkable case was that of Mr. Stirling, of Cargill. We formerly saw his appearance as leader of the Presbytery of Dunkeld, when he stood up at the bar of the Court of Session to be rebuked. The reader may be interested in seeing him again in other circumstances when on the road to his barn. "The parish church of Cargill was vacated on the 4th June by its venerable pastor, who preached to his much attached flock, to the extent of eight hundred, in a barn belonging to Mr. James Irving, of Newbigging. The place was found much too small, but those who could not be accommodated inside, cheerfully joined in the praise standing round the door. After solemn prayer that the Father of all would perfect strength in their weakness, the reverend gentleman delivered an impressive discourse with a fervency which caused deep emotion, and tears started to many an eye not accustomed to weep, on beholding their aged pastor, who had broke the Bread of Life amongst them for thirty-four years, forsaking all earthly benefits, that he might be at liberty to preach the Word of God in its purity, beyond the pale of an Erastianised Establishment. . . . When the hour of worship arrived, the people from the surrounding cottages were seen in crowds thoughtfully wending their way to the place of meeting,

* *Witness*, 28th June, 1843. † *Ibid.* 10th June, 1843.
‡ Disr. Mss. xxxvii. p. 10.

and in the midst, their aged and venerated pastor bearing the sacred volume beneath his arm."*

Such examples will show what was taking place in hundreds of localities over the country. The writer can never forget his own experience at Kinneff, where his friend, Mr. Hector, of Fernyflatt, tenant of the largest farm in the parish, had his barn seated, so as to form a commodious place of worship—this being only one of many kind services rendered to his minister and the congregation, of which he was a devoted and zealous member.

Barns, however, with sufficient accommodation were not always to be had, and a great variety of other expedients had to be resorted to.

At Berriedale, in Caithness, the congregation obtained the use of a cottage—an old schoolhouse. After trying for a considerable time to meet in the open air, by permission of the factor they took possession of this cottage, enlarged it for the purpose, and used it for many years, till in 1857 their church was built—the only subject of regret being, that the factor was dismissed, losing his situation, as was believed, because of the considerate kindness he had showed to the people.†

In the village of Muthill, Perthshire, a hall was obtained. There was a Mason-lodge in the village, which would have given more ample accommodation; but the parish minister, of unhappy memory, had secured a lease of it for a year, so as to exclude the Free Church. "One other hall alone could be obtained, and the tenant let it to us almost under the ban of his superiors. We took out one of the windows, and when the hall filled, the rest of the people sat in a court-yard, and I preached to them out of the window. There was not another spot about Muthill, within or out of doors, on which we durst meet for the first two months."‡

At Monquhitter, Banffshire, the congregation obtained, as a temporary place of worship, a temperance hall in the village of Cuminestown, "which was providentially in process of building,

* *Witness*, 24th June, 1843.
† Parker Mss., Presb. of Caithness, p. 2.
‡ Disr. Mss. viii. p. 9.

and nearly completed at the Disruption, so that we had to worship only for three Sabbaths in the open air." *

At St. David's, Dundee, it was an old abandoned mill that was got as in interim place of worship, "in the lower flat of which we found refuge until a new church was erected." †

Mr. Melville, an adherent of the Establishment at Torryburn granted Mr. Doig and his congregation the use—rent free—of a shed attached to his place of business for worship, fitting up the same gratuitously with a pulpit and seats. Four-fifths of the communicants adhered with Mr. D. to the Free Church. ‡

There were special difficulties at Stanley, Perthshire, and they were met in an unexpected way. The large factory and most of the village belonged to a manufacturing firm who made no secret of their hostility, forbidding the use of all the rooms and halls. But if there was no place for the Free Church in the halls of the manufacturers, room was found in a stable. "The year before the Disruption, James M'Gregor, Esq., a gentleman who had made a fortune in America, came home to Stanley, his native district, intending to settle there for life, and for his accommodation he built a very large stable for six horses, with hay-loft above, &c. But it was no sooner completed than the commercial convulsions in America required his presence again in that country; and Mr. M'Gregor being friendly to the Free Church, this house was placed at our disposal; and with some slight alterations, it afforded accommodation and shelter to the congregation until our church was built, and it still continues [1846] to be used by us as a schoolroom. But for this building, though the builders little imagined that they were rearing a dwelling to shelter a church of Christ, the Free Church must have worshipped from May till March next year in the open air." §

At Fairlie, near Largs, Mr. Gemmel on leaving his church retired to a schoolroom, which had been built at a cost of nearly £200 by Mr. Parker and Mr. Tennant, of Wellpark, two members of the Free Church. They had, however,

* Parker Mss., Presb. of Turriff.
† *Ibid.* Rev. G. Lewis, p. 11.
‡ *Ibid.* Presb. of Dunfermline.
§ Disr. Mss. v. p. 4.

neglected to obtain a lease from the Earl of Glasgow, on whose ground the schoolhouse stood; and availing himself of this legal technicality, his lordship resolved to seize the property. On the following Saturday evening the factor appeared along with a notary-public, to prohibit Mr. Gemmel from again entering the building. The congregation, accordingly, had to retire to the stable at Fairlie Lodge. Mrs. Parker had the place fitted up, and supplied with forms, and she placed in it the pulpit that had belonged to the well-known Rev. W. Scoresby, F.R.S., of Mariner's Church, Liverpool, which had come into her possession. There the congregation continued to worship for nine months, and there they were engaged in celebrating the Sacrament of the Supper on the second Sabbath of February, at the time when Mr. Gemmel's former church, after being locked up for three months, was reopened by the Established Presbytery. Mr. Gemmel, writing in 1876, and referring to the winter when they worshipped in the stable, states: "There, exposed to open doors and draughts, I received a severe cold, from which I have never entirely recovered." *

At Langton, Berwickshire, a spacious granary was fitted up as a place of worship by the Dowager-Marchioness of Breadalbane. About sixty years previously it had been used in a similar way while a new parish church was being built; and some of the parishioners who had worshipped in it on that occasion were there once more to take part in the service. The Dowager-Marchioness, with her cousin, Lady Hannah Tharp, were regular worshippers; and it was interesting to see the Marquis, when on a visit, taking his place on the same benches with the rest of the people, after assisting one of the elders, who was in infirm health, into the place of honour which had been prepared for himself.

When the Disruption took place, Mr. Miller, of Monikie, "could obtain no suitable site for building a church, his personal application to the first Lord Panmure, of whom he was an intimate friend, having been refused. He obtained a

* See further details by Mr. Gemmel in Appendix to A Discourse delivered at Fairlie, &c. &c., 1844. See also Letter to Inhabitants, &c., 1876.

meeting-place for his congregation in a grain-loft at Affleck. . . . At the time of the Disruption, Mr. Miller had begun to be touched by the infirmities of age; and there can be no doubt that his health and strength were still further impaired by the extremely cold and uncomfortable place of worship in which the congregation met, just under the slates, and without windows. It was only after the accession to the title and estates of the present Earl of Dalhousie that the congregation were provided with a place of worship and the minister with a manse. This was nine years after the Disruption." *

At Fort-Augustus, it was not till the 28th of March, 1844, that the foundation-stone of the Free Church was laid. Previous to that time the congregation had assembled in a large malt-barn from the time of the Disruption. †

At Campbeltown, the Gaelic congregation found accommodation (4th June, 1843) at the distillery of Messrs. John Grant & Co. A large court belonging to the works had been "almost completely covered in with a wooden roof in a day and a half by the Highlanders themselves. From 1500 to 2000 gathered, and patiently endured the cold rather than desert their ministers or their cause. The place was crowded." ‡

A still more remarkable transformation took place at Symington, in Ayrshire. "The very day after I left the old church the elders and others set to work to find a temporary place of worship, and they fortunately secured for that purpose an *old public-house*, which was then empty. They took down all the partitions, threw all its rooms into one, had it all seated by the following Sabbath, and it was sufficiently large to hold a good congregation. I preached there for nine months with great comfort and satisfaction. My pulpit was an old door laid across two small tressles, and upon it a table and chair; and it was the finest pulpit I ever occupied. It was so near the people, they were all seated around and in front of it, and as they were at that time so eager to hear the Gospel, I believe I never preached with greater effect or with more acceptance." §

* Parker Mss., Presb. of Dundee, Rev. Dr. Wilson.

† *Witness*, 6th April, 1844. ‡ *Ibid.* 10th June, 1843.

§ Disr. Mss. xlviii. pp. 11, 12.

Among the fishing population it sometimes happened that the only available building was a herring-store. Thus at Keiss, it is said—For the first four months after the Disruption they worshipped in a barn, but when harvest came, and the barn was required for farm purposes, they had to retire to a herring storehouse, "in a compartment of which public worship was carried on, and wherein to this day [1846] the people assemble."*

In similar circumstances was the Lord's Supper dispensed at Helmsdale, on the 26th November, 1843. "To keep within bounds, the congregation must have been from 2200 to 2400, which was considered a great number for this season of the year. There was house accommodation for about 1400 in a curing-yard and stores, the front of which is closed in with deals. Some of the deals were removed to enable those outside to see and hear. The scene was solemn and affecting. So eager were the people to listen to the Gospel preached, that those outside waited patiently from 10 A.M. till 6 P.M."†

At the Disruption, two-thirds of the parishioners at Burghead followed Mr. Waters to the green, where he conducted public worship for some time. By-and-by two granaries—a lower and an upper floor—were rented, in which, ill-adapted though they were for the purpose, public worship was conducted on ordinary Sabbath days, while the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was dispensed in a herring-curing shed until the Free Church was built.‡

The Rev. Gustavus Aird could get no site at Croich; but one of the sheep farmers, George Murray, Esq., of Rosemount, "kindly offered to me the cottage on the farm for a dwelling, and also grass for a cow and horse, and the use of the large wool-barn for the congregation as a place of worship, with the exception of a few weeks in July, when it was filled with wool."§

At Oyne, Aberdeenshire, the only place of worship allowed to the minister and people is a large cart-shed, with a wooden addition to it, which neither excludes the summer shower nor the winter's snow. It was pitiful during the winter [of 1844]

* Disr. Mss. xxv. p. 3.
† *Witness*, 29th November, 1843.
‡ Parker Mss., Presb. of Elgin.
§ *Ibid.* Presb. of Tain.

to see the old people sitting in this cold place of worship, and the snow drifting about them; and even the young people dismissed from their Bible classes on account of the cold. *

In this way, wherever existing buildings could furnish the needful accommodation, they were at once turned to account, without waiting for a moment to consider how far their ordinary uses might be in harmony with the sacred purpose for which they were employed. The people were under the pressure of necessity; they were in earnest, and outward appearances were of small account.

But there were cases of still greater difficulty where no existing accommodation, even of the humblest kind, could be obtained, and where various shifts and expedients had to be tried.

Sometimes wooden churches were erected. Thus at Largo, Mr. Brown and his people were allowed for two Sabbaths to occupy the parish schoolroom; but "knowing that this was to be refused for longer use, we instantly raised a wooden erection, called 'The Tabernacle,' very deficient in the shelter it afforded, and we continued to worship there until the permanent building could be got ready." †

For three Sabbaths the congregation [at Woodside, Aberdeen] met in the open air, on the school-ground. After that, a large temporary wooden building, seated for 1500 persons, being completed in the immediate neighbourhood, they removed thither on Sabbath, the 26th June. The number at the first dispensation of the Lord's Supper, July 2, amounted to 1351 communicants. ‡

For two years, says Mr. Grant, of Ayr, "we worshipped in a wooden church behind Alloway Place, which was opened by the Rev. Dr. Gordon, of Edinburgh, in October, 1843. It was infested by beetles, earwigs, and mice, annoyed by drops of rain in wet weather, and of pitch in hot summer days. Yet these were the months to which I have referred" as a time of special blessing. §

How rapidly these wooden structures could be put together, was seen in the case of Rhynie before the Disruption. The

* See *Witness*, 22nd July, 1845.
† Disr. Mss. xlv. p. 2.
‡ *Ibid.* xxvii. p. 7.
§ *Ibid.* xli. p. 12.

people had great difficulty in obtaining a site, and it was not till after very considerable delay that a suitable one was procured. "They were quite willing to put up, for a time, with temporary accommodation; and, accordingly, they formed a plan, which was successfully carried out, and with so much secrecy, that those who were opposed had not the slightest idea of what was going on. It was on a Saturday morning, if I recollect aright, that the congregation, and some of their friends from a distance, assembled at *a very early hour*. The necessary materials were brought in carts from a little distance to a small plot of ground out of the village, where it was believed they would not be interfered with; and such was the activity displayed, that before the shades of evening fell, they had a plain but substantial wooden church erected, in which they worshipped on the following day. There were no railways in those days, and no telegraphic communication, so that there was no time to send to Aberdeen for an interdict, had any attempt been made to obtain it."*

The example thus set was followed at a subsequent period in the neighbouring parish of Bellie. The town-hall of Fochabers was put at the disposal of the congregation, and occupied for two Sabbaths; but so many had to remain outside for want of room, that it was resolved to erect a wooden church to contain 400 or 500 hearers. On Tuesday, June 9, the parishioners commenced the work; and on Saturday a band of fifty carpenters having come up from Garmouth and volunteered their services, the whole was finished that night. The materials were carted to the ground, and the work carried on and completed free of any charge. †

At Kirkhill, where Gaelic as well as English services were required, a similar lively scene is described: "A site for the church having been kindly granted by John Fraser, Esq., on his property of Achnagairn, and Mr. John M'Lennan, merchant, Beauly, having handsomely presented manufactured timber for a place of worship, on Tuesday the people assembled and gave their gratuitous aid in erecting the building. During that and the four following days, successive relays of workmen

* Disr. Mss. xliv. p. 8. † *Witness*, 28th June, 1843.

arrived, carrying their tools with them, there being seldom less than from fifty to sixty men on the spot, some clearing the ground of whins and stones, and levelling it for the Gaelic congregation. On Saturday morning the preaching box was set up, and it was most interesting to witness the people coming from all quarters of the parish, and many from the neighbouring parishes, carrying forms on their shoulders, and anxiously placing them in favourable situations near the pulpit. On Saturday night the wooden church was likewise finished, mostly seated, and the pulpit erected. On Sabbath forenoon Mr. Fraser preached in Gaelic to a congregation of about two thousand, and in the afternoon in English inside the church, to about four hundred, the people being densely crowded, and many being disappointed in obtaining admission." *

It was not to be wondered at if these wooden erections, owing to their homely appearance, were occasionally made the subject of sarcastic remark. A story is told of a meeting of farmers in the north, chiefly belonging to the Moderate party, where a member of the Free Church who happened to be present was asked, "How are ye getting on with your wooden kirks?" When the laugh which followed this question had subsided, he replied—"Oh, very well; but how are *you* getting on with your wooden *ministers?*" It must be confessed that these churches, intended only for temporary purposes, were often sufficiently humble, and yet there were cases in which marks of respect were not withheld despite their lowly appearance. The congregation of Dr. Macintosh, of Tain, accompanied him out with very few exceptions. "They met with him in a wooden building, hurriedly erected, even the magistrates of the town, preceded by their red-coated, halbert-armed officers, walking in procession, and taking their place of honour in the Free, as they were wont to do in the Established Church." †

The most interesting of these scenes, however, were the fields and hillsides, and glens, where congregations unable to find shelter met under the open canopy of heaven. A few cases

* *Witness*, 21st June, 1843.

† Memorials of Dr. Macintosh, p. 59.

will be sufficient to show the circumstances under which such gatherings were held.

After preaching his farewell sermon at Farr, Mr. Mackenzie states: "Monday, 12th June, we kept our prayer meeting in the open air, and on the 15th we observed the fast appointed by our Free Assembly, and henceforward, until December following, we met for public worship in the field, taking the most sheltered spots we could find." The reader will have no difficulty in understanding how, in the month of November, on the shores of the Northern Ocean, while meeting in the open air, it was necessary to take "the most sheltered spots" they could find. Mr. Mackenzie mentions thankfully that after December they were "allowed, unmolested, . . . to fit up a gravel-pit, where we had our canvas tent for a year."*

The state of mind in which the poor Highlanders of these northern parishes were during that season may be inferred from a statement made by Mr. Carment, of Rosskeen, in the month of November, 1843. "Old as I am, and lame through rheumatism, I lately travelled through Sutherlandshire and part of Argyllshire." . . . On visiting one of the parishes "we asked the people, 'Where's the tent [a kind of pulpit] to preach in, for we saw none near us; and what, think you, was the people's answer?' 'Oh, Mr. —— [the Factor] is here just now, and the tent's away up there'—pointing to a hill half as high as Ben Ledi or Ben Lomond, and more fitted for an eagle's eyrie than for a preaching place. 'We put it up there as we are afraid it should be seen.' 'Monstrous!' said I; 'how do you expect me ever to get up there? I'm not able to climb.' 'Oh, sir,' they said, 'we'll get a horse for you.' 'Impossible,' said I, 'neither horse nor man will ever get up there.' And so they had to send up messengers and bring the people down, and I preached to them in the open air at the bottom of the hill."†

Hugh Miller writes, on the 9th of July: "I have just returned from Helmsdale, where I have been hearing sermon in the open air with the poor Highlanders. . . . The congregation was numerous—from six to eight hundred at least—and all seemed serious and attentive. It must have been the power of

* Disr. Mss. xx. pp. 4, 5. † *Witness*, 4th November, 1843.

association, but I thought their Gaelic singing, so plaintive at all times, even more melancholy than usual."*

But such scenes were not confined to the North. At Humbie, East Lothian, Mr. Dodds states: "On Sabbath, 11th June, I preached at Upper Keith in front of the schoolhouse, from a wooden tent, to a large and attentive congregation. . . . Having had reason to believe that several of the heritors, all of whom, ten in number, were hostile to the Free Church, were about to take steps to prevent me from preaching a second time at the schoolhouse, though it was only by the highwayside, I was obliged to look out for another place of meeting for next Sabbath. A wright in the village of Upper Keith, an elder in the Secession Church, offered me the use of his woodyard, but the farmer from whom he rented it—Mr. ——, of ——, a man on whom and whose family I had been able to confer repeated obligations—interfered to prevent me from receiving that accommodation. I was at a loss what to do, when I heard that Mr. Lawson, tenant at Humbie Mains, also an elder in the Secession Church, was willing to allow us to meet on his farm, in a deep and wooded glen or ravine, called Humbie Dean. By the kind permission of Mr. Lawson, we continued to meet at that place during the whole summer, till our new church was finished."

So also at Lesmahagow in the west, Dr. Parker writes: "Our ordinary meetings for public worship were held in a field, . . . kindly granted for the purpose by Mr. Robert Frame, surgeon, a member of the Establishment. This field was admirably adapted for the object, having a gentle slope, and being surrounded on three sides by trees, which afforded partial shelter. Many a happy Sabbath we spent here under the open canopy of heaven, and here also was dispensed, on the first occasion after the Disruption, the holy ordinance of the Lord's Supper, with circumstances of peculiar solemnity, which many, I believe, will remember to their dying hour. On the green grass was the table spread, and all around were the congregation gathered, some on chairs or rustic seats which they had brought, others on the bare ground. The service commenced at half-past ten

* Life of Hugh Miller, vol. ii. p. 358.

o'clock, and continued without intermission till near five." . . . After the interval of an hour, Dr. Hanna preached the evening sermon from Hebrews vi. 19.*

Congregations compelled to worship in the open air in such a climate as that of Scotland must have met with no little discomfort, and indeed danger to life and health; but never was the goodness of God more conspicuously seen. From all parts of the country there are found in the Disruption Mss. expressions of wonder and thankfulness for the unexampled fineness of the weather during the whole summer and autumn of 1843. Generally throughout the bounds of the Free Church this had been the subject of much prayer, even in congregations who had themselves found shelter, and it afterwards appeared that among the Nonconformist Churches of England, many a fervent supplication had been offered up on behalf of their Scottish brethren. There is hardly a district, accordingly, from which we have not impressive and grateful acknowledgments of the goodness of God in connection with the fair bright Sabbaths given during those months of exposure.

In Caithness, Mr. Campbell states: "I preached during the winter and spring of 1844, from October till May, and was not once interrupted by a shower of rain or snow all that time, and I preached almost always in the open air. Such a circumstance would seem to me incredible had I not experienced it. . . . I could not but look upon it as an evidence of God's approval of our conduct, in separating from the Establishment in the circumstances." †

At Cromarty, Hugh Miller writes: "There has been much rain of late, and it has been of great use and greatly needed, but scarce any of it fell during the time of divine service on the Sabbath. In his prayer, Mr. Stewart made appropriate mention of a goodness which could be at once favourable to exposed congregations and to the concerns of the husbandman." ‡

In the neighbourhood of Perth, it is mentioned by Dr.

* Disr. Mss. xxxi. pp. 15, 16.
† Parker Mss., Presb. of Caithness.
‡ Life of Hugh Miller, vol. ii. p. 384.

Grierson: "Till the very week before the event [the Disruption], the weather had been unusually wet, but from that week, and for four months and a-half afterwards, there was not a single Sabbath on which it rained." *

Close to the water-shed, between the valleys of the Tay and Forth, Mr. Grant, of Braco, writes: "I took particular notice of the weather . . . and I found that fifteen Sabbaths elapsed after the Disruption before even a shower fell to the inconvenience of worshippers during divine service." †

"Divine Providence remarkably interposed in behalf, not only of this congregation [Roslin], but also of many other congregations of the Free Church, by sending favourable weather on the day of holy rest, even when the state of the weather on the other days of the week did not warrant such an expectation." ‡

And it was the same at Ruthwell, near the borders of Scotland, on the south-west. "The first really stormy Sabbath after we became houseless we were able to take shelter under the new roof, and seated on planks to worship, while wind and rain beat without. This was in October. During the summer the threatening skies had called forth more petitions for weather tempered to our circumstances than ever we had used before. In one instance we had so tempestuous a morning that we feared it would be impossible to meet. The storm became a calm in good time, and as I set out for the Sabbath school . . . the sun shone out. When church time came the wind had dried even the turf on which we sat, and many enjoyed the Word of Life the more that our comfortable position in hearing it was regarded thankfully as an answer to prayer." §

But remarkable as all this was, the climate had showed enough of its fickleness to remind the hearers how much they were dependent on the special and gracious care of God.

Thus at Lesmahagow, Dr. Parker states: "During many consecutive Sabbaths of the summer of 1843, scarcely a drop of rain fell. . . . On one Sabbath in the month of August the case was otherwise. While the service was going on a dark cloud

* Disr. Mss. xi. p. 12.
† *Ibid.* xiii. p. 8.
‡ *Ibid.* xiv. p. 2.
§ *Ibid.* xvi. pp. 6, 7.

gradually overspread the sky, and the rain began to fall. I persevered for a time, but at last the rain became so heavy and the sound of its pattering on the umbrellas so loud, that as Mr. Logan's place of worship was that day unoccupied, we adjourned to it, and concluded the service within its walls. . . . My pulpit Bible was spotted and injured in the part which happened to be open for exposition—the Epistle to the Galatians. These spots cannot be effaced, they will continue as long as the Bible lasts, a memorial of the day. On showing them to one of my elders, he remarked, they are scars in an honourable warfare." *

At Crailing, Roxburghshire, close to the Cheviot Hills, "there were many interesting incidents in connection with the services in the open air. On one occasion the people were assembled in a field, when suddenly the sky grew black and loud peals of thunder rolled over their heads. The preacher [Mr. Milroy] adapted his discourse to the circumstances, and dwelt on the solemnity of the voice of God. The people were then dismissed, and had only reached their homes when a most terrific storm burst over the whole neighbourhood, and lasted for the whole of that night." †

"There has been a night of weighty rain," Hugh Miller writes from Cromarty, on the morning of Sabbath, the 23rd July, "the streets have been swept clean, and the kennels show their accumulations of sand and mud high over their edges. I awoke several times during the night to hear the gush from the eaves, and the furious patter on the panes, and I thought of the many poor congregations in Scotland who would have to worship to-day in the open air. But the rain is now over, and a host of ragged clouds are careering over the heavens before a strong easterly gale."

"I do begrudge the Moderates," he again says, "our snug comfortable churches. I begrudge them my father's pew. It bears date 1741, and had been held by the family through times of poverty and depression, a sort of memorial of better days, when we could afford getting a pew in the front gallery. But yonder it lies empty, within an empty church, a place for

* Disr. Mss. xxxi. p. 16.

† Memorials of a Quiet Ministry, p. 50.

spiders to spin undisturbed, while all who should be occupying it take their places on stools and forms in the factory close." *

As the season went on the perils of out-door exposure began to be more severely felt. The Rev. Mr. Logan, of Lawers, who was appointed by the Free Presbytery "to preach to the adhering people in Rannoch last Sabbath [15th October], could find nowhere to address them, save on the shore of the loch. It was the most inclement day we have had this season, and twice during the service did the wind reach such a height that the preacher could not hear his own voice, and it is no weak one, while the spray was ever and anon falling among the congregation." †

It was to escape such risks that the wooden churches already described were put up; but the expense was often greater than could be met in the face of other demands, and simpler expedients had to be tried. Perhaps the simplest of all was one mentioned in the *Witness* newspaper: "We have lately heard of a friendly farmer in the west who, in gratitude to God for the abundant harvest, has arranged the stacks in his stack-yard in a circle, so that the sheltered space within may accommodate the Free Church of his parish." ‡ In rendering this service to the congregation, he evidently acted under the feeling which was expressed in another part of the country by one of the parish-

* Life of Hugh Miller, vol. ii. p. 383. The carrying forth of stools out of the parish church of Cromarty must have been rather a remarkable scene. The time of seat-letting occurred a few days after the Assembly of 1843. Public intimation was made of the day and hour, and the sub-factor was on the spot to receive applications. "He waited in vain. Instead of the crowd who used to fill pews and passages, not a solitary sitter put in appearance. At the end of some hours, as he sat alone, a sound was heard, the shuffling of feet in the passages made it evident that a goodly number of people were entering the church. Nor was the factor disappointed, for all the poor bodies who used to occupy the passages *came to take their seats* —to take them, however, in a sense very different from the usual acceptation of the term when applied to seat-letting. For, availing themselves of the open doors, many with weeping eyes and aching hearts came to gather up their stools, and take them away from the place where prayer was wont to be made."—*Witness*, 7th June, 1843.

† *Witness*, 18th October, 1843. ‡ *Ibid.*

ioners of Muckhart, a man in humble circumstances. "Happening," says Mr. Thomson, "one day when I called upon him, to remark on the number of carriages driven by the farmers in the parish to the building of the church [carting of materials], in addition to their direct contributions, he said, 'But, sir, they have gotten it all back again.' Supposing that he alluded to spiritual benefits, I added, 'I hope they have.' His answer was: 'Yes, sir, God has given them it all back again in giving them such a harvest. They have not been called upon to turn a stook, nor yet have they had to complain of a spoiled sheaf. When had we such a harvest?'" *

In various localities tents were procured. It was a remarkable example of the law of demand and supply, that before the first Assembly of the Free Church rose, a London manufacturing firm had a specimen tent pitched close to Tanfield, and were ready to take orders. The objection in this case also was, that the expense was greater than was warrantable for a merely temporary purpose. There were parishes, however, in which they were employed.

"At first we worshipped in the open air on a green at the end of the village [Collace]. Thereafter a kind friend in Dundee, who had been interested in the congregation because of the lamented Mr. M'Cheyne's connection with their pastor, provided for us a spacious canvas tent, under the roof of which we worshipped till our new church was ready to receive us. During all the time we were in this tent not a shower of rain ever annoyed us; once only there were a few drops in the time of public worship. And this was the case also in regard to our week-day meetings in it, as well as Sabbath. The weather was so remarkable that many observed it, and it was made a matter of public thanksgiving. What led to the more impressive observation of this matter was the fact that in the following summer the weather was altogether unlike the preceding, many of the Sabbaths being wet and stormy; while, on the other hand, the Sabbath days which followed the Disruption were so favourable to us in our tent, that the first day of wind and rain was the very day in which we found ourselves able to meet

* Disr. Mss. xxviii. p. 10.

under the roof of the new church, which, though not seated, was sufficiently ready to afford us comfortable accommodation."*

In regard to the parish of Forgandenny, Mr. Drummond states: "During the summer of 1843 we worshipped under a canvas tent in the corner of a small field lying immediately to the south of the Established manse. That field, with a dwelling-house upon it, had belonged to my immediate predecessor, Mr. Willison. It consisted of two acres. In his will he left it to aid in supporting a small school at the Path of Condie. It was to be occupied by the parish minister in all time coming, at a moderate rent, to be fixed by his executors, who were to be four of the principal heritors. I accordingly occupied it till the term of Martinmas, 1843, and could not be dispossessed till then. There we pitched our humble tent, and continued to hold public worship as well as our weekly prayer meetings, till the church was ready to receive us. Had I not possessed that field, I verily believe we should not have been allowed to worship on the road side. For a while many of the people had a good deal to endure in resorting to that spot. Two ways led to it, and there two of the heritors took their stand for a number of Sabbaths, watching and even threatening those who ventured to pass them. Such conduct, however, only tended to confirm and embolden the adhering people." †

In other cases the parishioners, instead of procuring ready-made tents, fitted them up for themselves.

On Sabbath, 11th June, Mr. Thomson, of Yester, preached in the large room of the inn at Gifford to an audience of upwards of 400. As this place of meeting could not be used with safety, and as no barn or other place of worship could be procured for the adhering congregation, it was resolved to erect a tent; but instead of purchasing one from London, a village wright was employed. Two cart-loads of wood-thinnings‡ were kindly sent by John Martine, Esq. of Moreham Bank; and with these the walls were formed. Unbleached cloth was got from Edinburgh to cover the walls, and stronger material from Dundee to form the roof. Care was taken to have ventilation

* Disr. Mss. xxi. p. 3. † *Ibid.* liii. pp. 14, 15.

‡ *Witness*, 21st June, 1843.

without draughts, and in the course of a week the place was ready, capable of containing very comfortably 500 persons; and it has been crowded ever since. During the late very severe rains it was not affected in the smallest degree. And to crown all, the entire cost will hardly amount to £17, while already the minister has been offered half-price for the materials when he has got his new church erected.

"It was situated in a very pleasant and romantic spot, beside a running stream and waterfall, the sound of which suggested to a worthy lady the place by the river-side, 'where prayer was wont to be made,' and where Lydia 'attended unto the things spoken by Paul."' *

At even an earlier date, similar steps had been taken at Blairgowrie. We give at length the following account of the tent, along with the various incidents which occurred in connection with it:—

"We had been over in Edinburgh attending the never-to-be-forgotten Assembly of May, 1843, and returned home on Friday, the 2nd June, reaching the manse in the course of the afternoon. The first object which greeted our view was a large tent that had been erected in our absence, on a piece of ground adjoining the glebe-field, conspicuous from the manse, and still more so from the only road leading up to the Established Church; so that it was impossible to go there without beholding this speaking testimony of the people's faithfulness to the crown rights of the Redeemer. It was put up while we were in Edinburgh at the General Assembly, begun and finished in about two days, and capable of containing nearly a thousand people —a labour of love, in which many willing hands and loving hearts helped. And it will ever be associated in our memory as a sanctuary which God hallowed by His presence—making it a birthplace of souls, and greatly refreshing His people. We owed it mainly to the kindness of our dear elder, Mr. John Thain, shipowner in Dundee. He it was who furnished us with sail-cloth sufficient for its covering; and, when finished, with its patchwork cover of black and white sails, a thinner piece of canvas round the sides serving as walls, windows, and

* Rev. Dr. Thomson, Paisley, formerly of Yester, Disr. Mss. lvii.

blinds, we thought it a wonderful structure. The site had been chosen and materials for its erection laid down a day or two before we went to the Assembly. And when Sir William Chalmers, of Glen Ericht, one of our heritors, beheld these sure indications of the coming separation, he called at the manse and, with deep emotion, said, 'Oh, Mr. Macdonald, is it really come to this! Can nothing be done to save the Disruption?' Although an Episcopalian, he was deeply concerned at the breaking-up of the Establishment; and when afterwards some of the Moderate party tried to prevent our having a bell to our Free Church, he resisted the movement, and said, 'If they stop the bell, I shall send down my own gong.'

"Wearied by all the exciting scenes through which we had passed, we were glad to retire to rest. Next morning, shortly after breakfast, a deputation of our people came to the manse with a request that we would allow them to flit us, adding, that as the minister would on the morrow be in his new church, they would like him also to be in his new house. To this we could not agree, things were not in a state for so summary a removal; and the confusion we felt would be all the greater, as the manse was large, whereas our new abode was simply three rooms and a bedcloset in a new house built by one of our elders, who very kindly gave up these rooms for our use, whilst his own family occupied the rest, the kitchen being used between us; and we could not imagine how all our furniture could be got stowed away. Besides, it was Saturday, and we dreaded the impossibility of getting all settled before night. In vain, however, did we reason. They continued still to urge, until at length we consented, and in a few minutes men, women, and children fell to work, and Saturday, by night, we were fairly settled in our new house—nor was a single thing missing, nor aught in any way injured. The only martyr to principle was our poor cat. So strongly was she attached to the manse, that no means could prevail on her to leave it; and there is reason to fear that she came to an untimely end.

"Sabbath, the 4th June, was our first in our new tent-church; and truly it was one of the most solemn, sweet, and blessed Sabbaths we ever enjoyed. At an early hour the tent was

completely filled. It was seated for nearly 1000 people; but as forms were placed all round outside also, the number assembled was very large. There was just one door of entrance, with a long, narrow passage leading to the pulpit at the other end. Seats neatly covered with white cotton cloth were placed very close upon each other on both sides, with a piece of board under each, which, as every seat was filled, was drawn out and placed between the two opposite, so that there was no getting out or in till a general movement was made at the close of the service. The whole ground had been thickly laid over with sawdust; and when the minister entered, preceded by his glebe-servant, now transformed into his beadle, and with noiseless step walked up the long passage to the pulpit, the feelings of the people were stirred to their very depths, and many a tear stole silently down the cheek. At first, when the psalm was given out, no one joined—emotion choked their utterance; but at last a loud peal of praise burst forth, and the grand Old 100th Psalm was sung with intense gratitude and thanksgiving. The presence of the Lord was felt throughout the whole service—it seemed, indeed, the house of God and the very gate of heaven.

"At the close of the sermon a movement was made near the pulpit, and it was evident that some difficulty or other had occurred. This was soon explained. Two infants were to be presented for baptism; but as it was impossible they could be borne through the dense crowd, the question was how they could be got in. Happily the thought occurred of cutting the canvas near the pulpit, and through this somewhat novel entrance the little ones were handed in to the parents inside, and were baptised. One, if not both of these, are now heads of families. All the time we worshipped in the tent—about five or six months—God's answers to prayer were most striking. Often on the Saturdays the rain poured in torrents, but by Sabbath the sun and wind were sent, and we worshipped in comfort."*

There was one class of cases for which tents were held to be peculiarly adapted—those in which sites had been refused.

* Disr. Mss. lv. pp. 2-6.

The idea was, that as tents were movable, the people might carry their churches from place to place, in search of some spot where standing-ground could be had. As Mr. Dunlop stated in the first General Assembly, "Large tents had been provided which could hold about 500 people, and which did not weigh more than four hundredweight; so that they might be carried from place to place in a small cart or boat along the seashore from farm to farm, so that when driven from one quarter, the people might escape the tyranny by transporting them to another." *

In the parish of Fortingall, Perthshire, this was put to the proof. "All the heritors were extremely hostile, so that no site could be obtained; a tent, however, was procured, and erected on the common hitherto used as a market-place. No sooner, however, had the laird, on whose property this common lies, got notice of what had taken place, than he immediately sent a peremptory order to have the tent removed. The good people of Fortingall immediately turned out and carried their tent shoulder-high over the River Lyon, and placed it safely on the land of the Marquis of Breadalbane." †

In certain districts it is strange to think of the difficulties which had to be overcome before a footing could be obtained.

Sometimes the opposition came from the manse. "A minister in East Lothian wrote to the Earl of Haddington requesting him to prevent a tenant from giving the use of his barn to a Free Church minister, as he wished to keep him out of his parish. His Lordshlp replied, that he was not in the habit of interfering with the use which his tenants made of their barns, and that the true way to get the Free Churchman out of the parish was to *preach him out.*" ‡

In Fife, the Rev. Mr. Thomson, of St. Ninian's, Leith, met with a yet more remarkable experience. "Early in the summer of 1843, I was sent by the Committee on the interim supply of ordinances to preach for three Sabbaths at St. Andrews, with instructions to preach on the intervening week evenings in all

* Assembly Proceedings, 1843, p. 46.

† *Witness*, 22nd July, 1843. ‡ *Ibid.* 7th October, 1843.

the neighbouring parishes. In these duties I derived valuable assistance from a band of devoted divinity students. Among other parishes my attention was directed to ——, the minister of which had been heard to declare that no Non-Intrusionist should ever enter his parish. Arrangements had been made for a place of meeting; a farmer, who was a Dissenter, having at once, on being applied to, agreed to place his barn at our service. Accordingly we set out at the hour appointed. We had not gone far before we learned that adverse influence had been brought to bear upon the farmer, and that his barn was locked against us. We proceeded onward, hoping to find a spot where the service might be held in the open air. When a little farther on, we were met by a working man with a very kindly expression, who, on ascertaining our errand, entreated us not to go forward, as a party had been sent to St. Andrews by the minister's son to purchase a large quantity of fireworks which were to be thrown at us. We thanked the man, but said we would face the fireworks. On arriving in the parish we found a large mass of people, eagerly waiting for us on the public road. We were told that no place could be got other than the public road, except one; 'But,' added our friend, 'it is a wood-yard, and we cannot go there for fear of the fireworks.' I replied at once, 'It is the safest of all places, for though they may not hesitate to injure us, they may take care not to set a wood-yard in a blaze.' We had a very quiet and enjoyable meeting, and though many efforts were made to get up a disturbance, so completely were all arrested and subdued, that I had a good opportunity of making a full statement of the principles of the Church. On returning to St. Andrews we met the fireworks on the road, but alas! they were too late." *

Usually, however, it was the proprietor and his factor who were eager, if possible, to suppress the Free Church. In some cases even standing-ground was refused. "In the parish of Logie there is a large gravel-pit in a fir wood, in which on sacramental occasions the out-door congregations used to assemble. At other times it was a famous resort of the gipsies. Their smoke might have been rising over the trees six months

* Disr. Mss. liv.

in the year, and their rude tents pitched in a corner of the hollow. Some of the neighbouring farmers and cottars expressed a wish not very long ago, that persons so dangerous and disreputable should be prevented from making it a place of resort, but they were told by the proprietor's doer to be kind to the gipsies and they would find them harmless. On the Disruption the minister of Logie respectfully applied for leave to erect his preaching tent in the hollow, in the expectation, fond man, of being permitted to rank with the gipsies. But alas, no! Tinkers may be patronised as picturesque, but the Free Church is dangerous, and so the use of the hollow was promptly and somewhat indignantly refused." *

In the parish of Dunbeath the people were denied a site, but after worshipping during the summer in the open air, "they bethought them as winter approached, of erecting on a very extensive moss, a rude temporary structure composed of useless turf, such as boys tending cattle on the hills are accustomed to rear. Having witnessed the erection of many rude bothies for the sale of whisky, where it had been well for the temporal and spiritual interests of the tenants if such erections had been interdicted, the people concluded that, driven as they were to this alternative, they would forthwith proceed to raise this shieling." They thought it right, however, to let the representative of the proprietor know of their intention, but the reply to the very humble request of the people was, that no such erection could be allowed—no shelter of any kind could be given to the adherents of the Free Church. †

At Menmuir, Forfarshire, the parishioners had to worship for a time in the open air. The village carpenter was willing to give the use of his workshop, but the consent of the landlord was necessary, and this was applied for in the most respectful and even humble terms. In answer, they were told that there was room in the parish church; that he, the proprietor, had no objection to let those of them who were his tenants resign their leases and go elsewhere. "Having given you unasked leave of becoming free, I must insist, if you do not take advantage of it,

* Life of Hugh Miller, vol. ii. p. 282.

† *Witness*, 2nd December, 1843.

that you do nothing in future to attempt to intrude on my grounds any promulgation of your peculiar views." The local press called attention to the fact, that being himself an Episcopalian, the landlord declined to attend the church to which he wished to compel all his people to go, and added—"We do much mistake the spirit of the Menmuir people generally, if the . . . paltry persecution with which they are now visited do not make them cling closer to a church which is standing up for the civil as well as the spiritual freedom of the people."* This anticipation proved correct. The people stood fast, and the cause of the Free Church took firm root in the parish.

In the case of Edzell, another of these Forfarshire parishes, Lord Panmure, when the people applied for a site, refused their request in no gentle terms. Mr. Inglis, however, the outgoing minister, held a small piece of land on lease from his lordship, and there he had a tent erected, but not in the first instance so successfully as in the parishes already referred to. On Sabbath, the 4th June, he says: "I preached at the manse door from Titus ii. 13, 14. Frail and infirm persons were taken into the rooms and passages of the manse so that they could hear, and a large congregation were seated upon hastily made forms and upon the grass at the door. I went into a private room sometime before the hour of worship, and my feelings were indescribable. I remember as the hour drew very near, that I was almost despairing of any one coming, when, just as the clock warned to strike, I heard the patter of a single coin fall into the plate which was near the window where I sat. I was in such a state of agitation that I could not look up to see who it was that put it in. Immediately there was the patter of another, then a continual patter patter patter, till I went out and stood at the table on which the Bible and Psalm-book had been placed. I did not miss many of the familiar faces that I had been accustomed to see in the church, but how different the surroundings. The beautiful grass on which many of the congregation were reclining, and the green hedge bounding the little lawn, the full-leaved trees skirting one side, the everlasting mountains in Lethnot and Lochlee, and the upper part of

* *Witness*, 22nd July, 1843.

Edzell towering in the distance, and the bright midsummer sun shining down upon us in all his glory. This was the only difficulty which I provided against on future Sabbaths, by driving a pole into the ground, tying an outspread umbrella upon the top of it, and moving round so as to keep it between me and the sun. That sermon was not preached in vain. Many took notice of it, and even spoke unto their dying day of the benefits they had received from it. . . . I looked upon this as a reward for all the sacrifices I had made and was making. I preached the two following Sabbaths at the manse door to increasing audiences, the weather continuing so propitious that every person was taking notice of it.

"I had arranged to leave the manse as soon as possible, and when I left, the manse door could no longer be the place of meeting for the congregation. Accordingly, arrangements were made for erecting a tent on a piece of the barren ground that I rented, and only about one hundred yards west from the parish church. A framework of wood was put up, and covered with drugget got at a low rate from a member of the congregation. . . . On the 25th June I preached for the first time in the tent. It was only about half covered with drugget, and during the service a gale of wind rose and shook the framework so much that the congregation were greatly alarmed. The gale increased in the afternoon and during the night, but the tent stood till between five and six o'clock on Monday morning, when a heavy blast levelled it with the ground. . . . The tent was re-erected, and the framework strengthened and covered with deal, to be afterwards used in the roofing of the church. The drugget was sent to Menmuir, and used as a tent by the congregation there till they got their church erected."

Mr. Inglis goes on to tell of a series of legal proceedings to which Lord Panmure and his factor had recourse in order to break the lease:—"The secret of their wish to get the land, and my desire to keep it, was that the Free Church tent was erected upon it; and if they had got possession, the tent would have been immediately pulled down, and the congregation would have had no place to meet in. One day after this, Mr. ——, who was a frequent visitor at Brechin Castle [Lord

Panmure's residence], met me in the muir at Edzell; and looking to the tent, which was a great eyesore to certain persons, he said: 'Do you know that Lord Panmure says he is to make a dog-kennel of that thing?' I immediately replied: 'Give my compliments to Lord Panmure, and tell him he must ask my leave first.'"* Mr Inglis was successful in retaining his right to the lease, and the tent was undisturbed.

It was in the North of Scotland, however, that tents most frequently came into use. They were of the best manufacture, and were supplied at the expense of the general funds of the Free Church; but amid the storms of those northern coasts they were subjected to weather of which their makers had evidently little idea. Two examples which are here given will show the hardships which had to be encountered.

Mr. Davidson, of Kilmalie, records his experience:—

"I preached my last sermon in the parish church on the 4th day of June, 1843, and on the following Sabbath I preached in Kilmalie churchyard, where I had the pleasure of seeing the greater part of the church-going people of the parish come out along with me. I continued to preach to my people in the churchyard for about two months, till we were excluded by the force of an interdict from the heritors of the parish, instigated, no doubt, by the Established Presbytery of the bounds.

"When thus excluded by interdict from the churchyard, we took up our next position on a little green spot upon the sea-shore, within high-water mark, immediately below the public road, opposite the monument of Colonel John Cameron, where we continued to assemble for public worship for a period of five months in the open air, without anything to cover or protect us from the inclemencies of the weather excepting a small canvas tent for myself. On this spot we had our first Communion after the Disruption, on the 30th day of July, 1843, which was well attended from all parts of the country.

"From the 1st January, 1844, I preached to my people in a large canvas tent, capable of containing from six hundred to eight hundred people, erected close to the sea-shore, on the site

* Memorials of the Disruption in Edzell, &c., Rev. R. Inglis, 1872, pp. 14-23.

now occupied by the garden attached to Mr. Simpson's cottage on the part to the west of the cottage. Under the cover of this large canvas tent the congregation were comparatively comfortable so long as it lasted—*i.e.*, during a period of one year and three months. On the 30th of March, 1845, this tent was most completely destroyed by a storm, with the exception of the side-walls, which were supported and protected by wooden slabs six feet high all round. Within this humble enclosure, or remains of the tent, I was enabled to preach to my people assembled for public worship during a period of two years and four months, exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather, summer and winter, until in August, 1847, a wooden shed was erected on a part of the ground then at length given for a site for the church and manse. There the people continued to assemble for public worship, and I continued to officiate every Sabbath for a period of about twelve months while the church was a-building." *

On the Communion Sabbath above referred to there was among the audience one who was well able to record his impressions. "We attended," writes Hugh Miller, "about two months ago, the public service of a Communion Sabbath in Lochiel's country. The congregation consisted of from three to four thousand persons, and never have we seen finer specimens of our Highland population. We needed no one to tell us that the men at our side—tall, muscular, commanding, from the glens of Lochaber and the shores of Lochiel—were the descendants, the very fac-similes, of the warriors whose battle-cry was heard farthest amid the broken ranks at Preston, and who did all that almost superhuman valour could do to reverse the destinies of Culloden. And yet here they were assembled as if by stealth—the whole population of a whole district—after being chased by the interdicts of the proprietor from one spot of ground to another. . . . They had gone first to the parish burying-ground. It was the resting-place of their brave ancestors. One family had been accustomed to say, 'This little spot is ours;' and another, 'This little spot is ours;' and they reasoned, rationally enough, that as the entire area belonged to

* Paper by Mr. Davidson, Parker Mss., Presb. of Abertarff.

them in its parts, it might be held to belong to them as a whole also, and that they might meet in it, therefore, to worship their God over the ashes of their fathers. Alas! their simple logic was met by a stringent interdict. . . . As we stood and listened, the rippling dash of the waves mingled with the voice of the preacher; and there, half on the beach and half on an unproductive strip of marginal sward, . . . did meet to worship God, patient and unresisting, though grieved and indignant, from three to four thousand of the bravest hearts in Scotland."*

A companion picture we take from Durness, a scene vividly described by the Rev. Eric Findlater, of Lochearnhead, who had gone north to preach for his father. The reader will specially notice the characteristic action of the Highlanders, drawing their plaids closer, and fixing their thoughts on the sermon.

The scene "had nothing very remarkable about it, at least for those days. It occurred on the 18th of February, 1844. During that month there had been a heavy snowstorm in the North. Although negotiations were going on between the Duke and the people for sites, they had not come to a satisfactory conclusion, and, like their brethren in the neighbouring parishes, my father's people were forced to worship under shelter of one of those canvas tents which were sent to various places where sites had been refused, from Edinburgh. In calm weather they did tolerably, but their continued exposure to wet, and especially the gales of that climate, soon began to tell on them, for there, especially in winter, Boreas reigns. The one at Durness was pitched in a gravel-pit, in a centrical part of the parish. On the north-west side it was sheltered by a Gaelic schoolhouse, which belonged to the people, and on the west by a high wall, which they themselves built, in order to break the force of the prevailing wind, the W. and S.W. In the centre of it stood the wooden box from which the minister used to address them on the hillside—it was, in short, a movable pulpit. In it I was preaching on the said Sabbath of February. When about the middle of my sermon, which was in Gaelic, there came on a snow-shower, accompanied

* *Witness*, 27th September and 7th October, 1843.

by a fierce blast from the north. The consequence was that the cloth gave way—it was rent from top to bottom. The people sat still, while a few of the more active young men, expert at the furling of sails, from their intimacy with the sea, in fewer minutes than I take to describe it, laid hold of the fluttering mass, and secured it to the poles with its own cords. I then turned my back to the blast, and having covered my head with a handkerchief, went on and finished my discourse. The people crouched a little closer to each other, and adjusted their cloaks and plaids, and then continued to listen as if nothing had happened. If they thought of their ill-advised landlord, it was but for a moment, for they seemed to feel as if their business was with One, from listening to whose message not even the wrath of men ought to move them."

"The scene where this incident occurred lies about a quarter of a mile from the sea-shore, but overlooking the ocean. On a fine day it is a fair prospect that presents itself to the eye. In the foreground there are some high rocks, farther in the distance the Whiten Head stands majestically forth, as if doing homage to the Northern Ocean as the rays of the evening sun fall upon its venerable but wrinkled face, while in the distance appear the storm-swept Orcades, their dissolving blue commingling with that of the sky; but on such a day as that it was a far different picture. The shore was one continued line of foam and spray. The multitudinous waves lifted up not only their crests, but their voices. The Whiten Head looked sullen from under a cloud, while the Orkney Islands were hid in the womb of the storm. Yet, while we were worshipping under such circumstances, the lord of the soil on which we stood was perhaps worshipping the same God under the roof of some aisled and groined cathedral in his cushioned pew, his eyes delighted with dim religious light, and his ears regaled with the sounds of the solemn organ."*

The incidents and details now given will enable the reader to form some idea of the difficulties with which pastors and people had to contend all over Scotland, and what were

* Disr. Mss. lvi.

the strange circumstances under which the worship of God had to be conducted. Our Presbyterian Churches, it is well known, do not believe much in the peculiar sanctity of consecrated buildings—the sacredness of divine worship, according to their ideas, depending rather on the spirituality and devoutness of mind with which the worshippers draw near to God. Under the pressure of necessity, indeed, in that season of 1843, there was no alternative; all external circumstances were lost sight of in far higher thoughts. Barns and stables, and old mills and granaries, wool-stores and malt-barns, and cart-sheds and saw-pits, and wooden churches and tents—all kinds of accommodation were welcome anywhere, under any roof that could give them shelter; and when everything else failed, then out in the open air, among the green fields and glens. It was amid such strange surroundings that from week to week hundreds of thousands of the most earnest minds in Scotland came together for the worship of God. If one could combine into a single picture these various scenes, it would form a spectacle such as no country in modern times has witnessed, and one which, in the estimation of many, is not altogether unworthy to be associated with the memories of former days of trial and struggle. Many a time under those lowly roofs, or out on those bare hillsides, men's thoughts went back to the days of persecution when our covenanting forefathers met for the worship of God amid the glens and moors of our native land, or to scenes associated with memories more sacred still—the river-side at Philippi, where prayer was wont to be made; the boat floating on the Sea of Galilee, out of which One spake as man never spake; or the lonely desert which the presence of God turned into a Bethel, the very gate of heaven.

But without attempting to follow out such thoughts, we turn rather to the statements of those ministers and people who were actually engaged in these services.

"At one time I was called," says Mr. M'Indoe, of Galston, in describing his experience during the summer of 1843, "to address an audience in an open shed, at another in a splendid hall, and again in a crowded schoolroom, with temporary

wooden erections, where the people could only obtain an occasional glimpse of the minister. Most encouraging, however, it was to witness the humble peasant and the titled nobility pouring their offerings into the treasury of the Lord, and afterwards taking their seats on the same bench, and listening with eagerness to the words of eternal life." *

"When the weather permitted," writes Mr. Gibson, of Kirkbean, "we met in the open air, and served God in the open plain, or on the mountain-side, or along the sea-shore. As attested by many, these were precious Sabbaths, sweet times to souls. Jehovah Shammah—the Lord was there." †

Such testimonies on the part of ministers it were easy to multiply.

From among the hearers, we may refer to a letter of Mrs. Coutts, well known in the Edinburgh circles of that day, as one whose heart and whose wealth were consecrated to the cause of Christ. She writes from the Bridge-of-Earn: "In the coal-shed which we have as a tent, I have sat five Sabbaths with much delight, with between 600 and 700 worshippers. I do think ministers and people seem enlarged and solemnised." ‡

In greater detail, and with his own graphic power, Hugh Miller conducts us into the midst of one of these lowly assemblies. In the Island of Eigg, "the building in which the congregation meets is a low dingy cottage of turf and stone. . . . We found the congregation already gathered, and that the very bad morning had failed to lessen their numbers. There were a few of the male parishioners keeping watch at the door, looking wistfully out through the fog and rain for their minister; and at his approach nearly twenty more came issuing from the place, like carder bees from their nest of dried grass and moss, to gather round him and shake him by the hand. . . . Rarely have I seen human countenances so eloquently vocal with veneration and love. . . . The rude turf building we found full from end to end, and all asteam with a particularly wet congregation, some of whom, neither very robust nor young, had travelled in the soaking drizzle from the further extremities

* Disr. Mss. xxxv. p. 9. † Disr. Mss. xxiii. p. 4.

‡ Memoir of Mrs. Coutts, p. 391.

of the island. And judging from the serious attention with which they listened to the discourse, they must have deemed it full value for all it cost them. I have never yet seen a congregation more deeply impressed, or that seemed to follow the preacher more intelligently; and I was quite sure, though ignorant of the language in which my friend addressed them, that he preached to them neither heresy nor nonsense. There was as little of the reverence of externals in the place as can well be imagined. An uneven earthen floor—turf walls on every side and a turf roof above; two little windows of four panes apiece, adown which the rain-drops were coursing thick and fast; a pulpit grotesquely rude, that had never employed the bred carpenter; and a few ranges of seats of undressed deal. Such were the mere materialisms of this lowly church of the people; and yet here, notwithstanding, was the living soul of a Christian community, understandings convinced of the truth of the Gospel, and hearts softened and impressed by its power." *

Yet another of these scenes we have it in our power to give, interesting in itself, and important as an indication of how much the Church owes to the services of that first summer, not only in large congregations, but in retired rural districts.

"During the summer of 1843, my father's family resorted for country quarters, as we had done for some summers before, to that part of the parish of Roseneath which looks out on Loch Long, and down towards Dunoon and Arran. In previous seasons the pedestrian part of the family used to cross the moor to the parish church of Roseneath, while those who were not up to walking proceeded to the same destination in a seated cart, by the beautiful road which, after winding at some height above the sea in full view of Arran and the Gourock and Greenock hills, turns inland through a valley, and crossing a peninsula, emerges again on the sheltered shores of the Gairloch, and follows them up to the clachan of Roseneath.

"The arrangements for the Disruption congregation were made by Mr. Lorne Campbell, the excellent commissioner of that part of the Argyll estates. A saw-pit, adaptable beyond most saw-pits, was utilised for the purpose. It was in the valley

* *Witness*, 19th April, 1845.

above referred to, and not very far from the site of the present Free Church, but nearer the Gareloch, if I remember right. The sawn planks helped the accommodation, and I am not sure but some shelter was knocked up which partly protected the congregation; or rather, a few of them, for most of us sat *sub jove*. It was a beautiful summer, and I remember some very hot Sundays. I remember still more the animation of the preaching, and the cordiality of the hearing; some who are gone hence are much associated in my mind with the peculiar mood of thankfulness, tenderness, and hope which characterised these Sabbaths of 1843. That year made me a minister."*

At last these memorable months passed away, and in October the General Assembly met at Glasgow, presided over by Dr. Brown, of St. John's, one of the most devout and earnest men who ever sat in that place of honour. Speaking as Moderator from the chair, and referring to the work of the summer, this was his testimony:

"Our ministers have gone forth and scattered the seed of the Word in every corner. They have preached by the sea-shore or the river's brink, in the retired glen or the mountain side, and in many instances with powerful and blessed effect. In many of the districts which they visited, the doctrine which they preached or their mode of preaching it was new. In many corners the cold chilling—at best but moral disquisitions and addresses issuing from many pulpits (we make exceptions), had induced an apathetic indifference to the things of God and eternity; but the soul-melting, heart-subduing strains of the Gospel, accompanied by stirring appeals to the conscience, aroused, and captivated, and enchained many. Many a parched spot has thus been watered and refreshed, and many a soul, we doubt not, has been brought to a knowledge of the truth, and won to the Saviour. Had no other good effects flowed from the Disruption, this of itself is a blessed consummation, proving that God can and will bring good out of evil; for oh! what are all our movements to be directed to, what are we to weep and sigh for, but that a people may be gained unto the Lord, and brands plucked from the everlasting burning." †

* Statement by Principal Rainy, New College, Edinburgh.

† Assembly Proceedings, Glasgow, 1843, p. 178.

## III. Church Building.

We have thus seen what a happy time of blessing it was during the bright days of that first summer after the Disruption. All temporary inconveniences in those strange meeting-places were welcomed and made light of. The very novelty of the scene, the freedom from conventional restraint, gave zest and interest to the service; men felt they were acting under a sense of duty; the heart was enlarged, and never was there deeper earnestness and never brighter or happier Sabbaths. But the stormy months of a Scottish winter were coming, the building of substantial churches was obviously a matter of urgent necessity, and ere-long architects and tradesmen in every district of Scotland had their energies taxed to the uttermost. As Mr. Lewis, of Dundee, expresses it, "All were now as busy building as before in battling for our freedom, that we might again raise our heads as a Church in the land." * Before the month of June was past, one of the outed ministers wrote: "An acute sense of the dangers of winter is the reason why at all hazards the resolution was taken yesterday to begin the work of building instantly, and to-day I shook hands with a tenant driving his own horses with the first two carts of lime, while others are loading the sand. . . . One carpenter subscribes six weeks' work." †

The most formidable difficulty, however, was to know where the funds were to come from. If the 600 or 700 churches were to be of stone and lime, roofed and slated, and properly fitted up inside, would not the cost be enormous—out of all proportion to the resources of the people? The committee sitting at headquarters in Edinburgh gave it as their opinion,

* Parker Mss., Pres. of Dundee. Paper by Rev. G. Lewis, p. 13.

† *Witness*, 28th June, 1843.

in February, 1843, that "the expense of such erections for all the congregations of the Church, even on the most moderate scale of expense for buildings of that description, would exceed half-a-million sterling, and every attempt therefore to realise the object in that way would at once crush and overwhelm the Church under an insuperable load, and leave it struggling after an unattainable object, with its energies cramped and paralysed."*

Holding these views—and it was impossible to judge otherwise at the time—there had been much serious deliberation among our leading men. The advice of eminent architects and builders had been taken, and the results had been brought out by Dr. Candlish, so early as the great West Church meeting, held in August, 1841. On that memorable occasion, one of the marked turning-points of the conflict, two announcements were made which had no small influence on the course of events. First, it was in contemplation to erect churches partly of wood and partly of brick, roofed with felt, and if such buildings were heated and ventilated on approved principles, they would be found sufficiently comfortable, and might be put up at moderate expense. This was followed by the still more important suggestion that the wealthy churches in towns and the poorer congregations in the country should go hand in hand, uniting to raise a general building fund, out of which all should receive share and share alike. Among the pre-Disruption ministers who still survive, there must be some who can to this day recall the sense of relief with which these announcements were welcomed. When the great enterprise of church building was put in this shape, men began to see their way, as if the undertaking were fairly brought within the limits of possibility, and might really be entered on with some hope of success.

At last the time came when such general suggestions had to be put in shape, and practically carried out. A building committee was appointed, having at its head Mr. John Hamilton, advocate, one of the Church's most esteemed and ablest laymen. With great wisdom, as the event proved, it was resolved that money should be raised in two ways. First, there was to be the general fund already spoken of, but along with that there

* First Circular, p. 2.

was to be a local fund in each parish, every separate congregation being expected to do what they could for themselves. In this way the generous feelings of the richer congregations were powerfully appealed to, urging them to do their utmost in aid of their poorer brethren in remote localities; while, on the other hand, the weaker congregations were encouraged and stimulated by the knowledge that they had behind them the general funds of the Church on which to lean. Detailed plans of those brick churches, along with practical suggestions, were sent forth to all corners of the land.

Everything was now ready for action—plans were adjusted, and on the eve of the Disruption, when the event had become inevitable, the actual appeal for funds was sent forth. The result proved a signal rebuke to many whose faith had been weak. God, whose is the silver and gold, touched the hearts of His people, and the flow of contributions which came into the treasury was like the rush of pent-up waters. From the wealthier members, gifts followed in rapid succession of from £100 to £500 and £1000. But far more important were the contributions of the middle classes and the poor, who pressed eagerly forward, as if they felt that this was a great national Christian work in which they must be allowed to have their part. A few days after the Disruption had taken place, it was announced in the General Assembly that the contributions to the two branches of the building fund, general and local, amounted together to £104,776. By the time the next Assembly came round, there had been added a sum of £123,060, and during the succeeding year, a further sum of £131,737 had been raised, so that by the month of May, 1845—two years after the Disruption—the free-will offerings of the people for the building of their churches alone had risen to the sum of £359,573. And beyond this there was the value of ground given for sites, materials, and driving, free of charge, and gratuitous labour, representing in all a very large additional sum.

Important as all this was, the Disruption Mss. take little notice of the raising of the money: it is only when the churches come to be actually built that men begin to dwell on the incidents which took place.

One great difficulty in some parts of the country was to obtain a site on which to build. Already we have seen how hard it was in many parishes to get ground on which to set up a tent or wooden shed. The difficulty was, of course, still greater when it came to actual church building. In the long run, the more flagrant cases of site-refusing had to be brought before a committee of the House of Commons; but these we reserve for separate notice in a future section. In the meantime, it may be interesting to mention some of the parishes in which difficulties were overcome, and sites obtained at an earlier period.

Here, however, it is only right to make due acknowledgment of the honourable conduct of Lord Aberdeen. During the Ten Years' Conflict, so long as the fight went on, the Church had no more determined or formidable opponent, but no sooner had the Disruption taken place on a scale so different from what he had been taught to expect, than he at once acted towards the members of the Free Church in the most kind and liberal spirit. In the parish of Fyvie, when Mr. Manson and his friends applied for a site—which they did with many misgivings—a reply came at once from his lordship at the Foreign Office, expressing his difference of opinion, and his deep regret at the step which they had seen it to be their duty to take, but frankly agreeing to give them all the accommodation they required.

In the neighbouring parish of Methlic, where the family residence, Haddo House, is situated, he acted in a way not less considerate and kind. The whole account deserves to be given, though it somewhat anticipates the course of events.

The parish minister was opposed to the Free Church, and the earlier movements in favour of the cause had been on a slender scale. The first meeting in the parish was held by Mr. M'Cheyne in February, 1843, when a deep impression was produced, but only seven individuals signed the Convocation resolutions. A second meeting was held on the 10th of June, one of the farmers giving his barn in spite of a "home-made interdict by the factor." Between two hundred and three hundred people attended, more than the barn would hold, and were addressed by the Rev. G. Garioch, of Old Meldrum. When the Disruption took place, only nine persons left the Establishment, and these all joined

Free Church congregations in the neighbourhood. In the end of 1843, application for the supply of ordinances was made to the Free Presbytery, but they were unable to comply.

"Little more was done for Methlic for a considerable time, but in July, 1846, Francis Main . . . went to a meeting of Presbytery at Ellon, and with tears besought them to do something for Methlic. The result was, that the Presbytery agreed to give services on each alternate Sabbath, the Presbytery having by this time been increased by the addition of Mr. Garioch, Old Meldrum, and Mr. Moir, of New Machar.

"The first who, in accordance with this resolution, preached in Methlic was the Reverend Mr. Brown, of Cruden, Mr. Philip having by this time been translated to Dunfermline. In the forenoon he preached in a grass field on the south side of the parish to a congregation of 200, and in the afternoon in a grass field, on the north side, to a congregation of about 300. The next who preached was Mr. Moir, of New Machar, to fully as large congregations. At this time Mr. William Grant, merchant in the village, had fitted up a hall for his own convenience; but also as a place where public meetings might be held. It was rumoured that Mr. Grant would be willing to let the hall for £10 per annum. I consulted with Mr. Moir about the propriety of taking it, on condition that the Presbytery would give occasional help in the way of supply. Next day I went down and spoke to Mr. Grant about it, when he said that if we were willing to give £10 he would provide seats and let us have it. The bargain was made; and here I would say, and would like to have it recorded, that Mr. and Mrs. Grant, although members of the Established Church, were most kind and obliging, and at considerable inconvenience lodged our probationers for more than two years, when no other house sufficient could be had in the parish. We entered the hall on the 23rd August, 1846, and had it filled to the door every Sabbath.

"We then commenced a Sabbath school. With the exception of the minister's class, there was no such thing in the parish. But no sooner had we set one agoing than the Established Church had one begun alongside of it.

"Towards the end of the same year we had two lectures on

the difference between the Free and the Established Churches. They were well attended, and numbers gave in their adherence, though not a few went back afterwards.

"Our first probationer was the Rev. Mr. Duncan, a good minister in every sense of the word; one who, if spared, would have left his mark. After a while he was settled at Gartly, and preached only four Sabbaths, when he was laid aside by sickness, and did not live long after. After this our pulpit was generally supplied by probationers or students from Aberdeen, and very frequently by Mr. Alexander Laing, an elder in Aberdeen, whose services were very much prized.

"On the first day of the year 1847 Mr. John Brown, Mr. James Davidson, Gowanwell, and Mr. John Burnett, watchmaker, Tarves, were appointed by the congregation to apply to the Earl of Aberdeen for a site for a church. In due time John Burnett and I went and presented to his lordship a petition to this effect, signed by between 200 and 300 adherents. His lordship frankly said that we would get a site, after he had looked over the names to see where the parties signing were located, as he wanted to give also a croft large enough to keep two cows and a pony. On this assurance we busied ourselves raising funds for the building of a church. But April had now arrived, and we had heard nothing about the site. I thought of writing his lordship, then in London, about the promised site, which I did, and in three or four days after I got a note from his factor, saying that he would meet us on a certain day to arrange about the site. We met in due course. The first site he offered us was two miles from the Parish Church, and within two miles of the U.P. Church of Savoch. This we refused. He then offered us one a mile and three-quarters from the parish church. This we also refused, as not at all centrical, and as we had mentioned in our petition to his lordship that we desired a site in or not far from the village. Some time after the factor wrote to us that he would try again to satisfy us. According to appointment, we met with him, when he offered us the site on which the church is now built, less rather than half-a-mile from the parish church. Plans and specifications for our church were prepared by Mr. James Henderson, Aber-

deen. The building went on as quickly as possible, and on the 6th of August, 1848, it was opened by Professor M'Laggan, Free Church College, Aberdeen. The collection on that occasion amounted to £23.

"Having thus got the church erected, our next object was the providing of a manse, as there was no convenient house for a minister to live in. We applied to the factor to make out our lease, as we might proceed at once to build part of a manse. He sent word to the local land-surveyor to draw a plan of the piece of ground on which the church was built, including as much more as would be half-an-acre. Immediately to the south of the church lay a bog, and it came out that this was to be included in the half-acre, and was to be the site for the manse. On hearing this I went into Aberdeen, a distance of 24 miles, called on the factor, and said I had come to see about a site for the manse. He took out the plan prepared, and showed me the place. I said, 'It would not do; we would never build in such a place; we would like it on the New Deer Road, opposite the church.' He said he would come out and look at the ground again. But I said I would not meet any more with him, as there was little likelihood of getting things right; that I had travelled so much already, hither and thither, that I would put the case into the hands of the Presbytery. I asked him whether he would be willing to meet with a deputation from the Presbytery in the matter. He said he would. The Presbytery met at Old Meldrum, and I went to it, and stated our case, asking them to appoint a committee of their number to wait on the factor. This they did, appointing the Rev. Mr. Archibald, of Udny, with Mr. Manson, of Kilblean, and Mr. Harvey, of Tillygrieg. In pursuance of this resolution of the Presbytery, Rev. Mr. Archibald called on the factor, at his office in Aberdeen, to arrange regarding the time when he would meet the deputation from the Presbytery at Methlic. He said he would not go out to Methlic, he had given them a site for a manse, and if they would not accept it they would get no other.

"When we were made acquainted with this decision of the factor, we resolved to have a congregational meeting; and such meeting was duly held, when it was unanimously agreed that

the whole proceedings in the case should be laid before the Earl of Aberdeen. This having been done by letter, a day was appointed for meeting his lordship. I went. His first remark was to this effect: 'You seem to think that my factor, Mr. ——, has been dealing deceitfully by you.' I answered, 'We don't say that; we only say that he does not see the matter in the proper light.' His lordship said, '—— says he cannot give you a site any other way, because the New Deer Road passes between the church and the site you want.' I answered his lordship that his factor's case was worse, for he was putting a burn as well as a road between the church and the manse on his site; and I took my staff and drew the plan in either case on the carpet, when his lordship said, 'Oh, I see it now! It is long since I have been in that place, but I remember it now. You will have your site where you please. I wish to do as well to you Free Church people as to the others. You will get the site you want, and as much land, and inland, too, mind that, as will keep two cows and a pony.' After this, when building office houses in connection with the manse and croft, I asked the factor for slates, and without a word we got slates to the value of £15. So much for the kindness and liberality of Lord Aberdeen. Few landlords acted as he did, and it may be added that his successors have been equally kind and considerate."*

Such was the generous treatment which the people received at the hands of a former opponent. Unfortunately, there were too many lesser men, who acted in a far different spirit. Thus at Humbie, East Lothian, Mr. Dodds states: "We had very great difficulty in procuring a site for a church; all the heritors, and most of the farmers, being hostile to our cause. At length, through the kind intervention of George Buchan, Esq. of Kelloe, his brother, Sir John Buchan, the proprietor of Upper Keith, consented to give us a site on his property." The farm, however, was in the hands of the trustees of a deceased farmer, and Mr. ——, who had the practical management, "opposed us in every way, and nearly prevented our getting the

* Disr. Mss. xxxviii. pp. 2-8, statement by Mr. John Brown, elder, Cairnorrie.

site we wanted. It was only through the solicitations of Mr. Cadell, of Cockenzie, who had considerable influence with him, that Mr. —— at last withdrew his opposition." "In this way," Mr. Dodds adds, "we got a site for a church, against the judgment and wish both of the proprietor of the ground and the person who exercised the rights and authority of tenant, a case perhaps unparalleled in the Free Church." *

At Flisk, "many fruitless attempts were made to get a site for our church. We thought of one in the village of Luthrie, which was to be sold by public roup. But the minister's sister had secretly instructed the man of business to secure it for her at any price. In our desire to get it we ran up the price far beyond its real value, and then left it to her. . . . In a way we little expected a site was procured, and probably a more suitable one than any that could have been selected. Mr. Boyd, wright, Brunton, the only remaining elder in the parish of Creich, joined us, and as he had a small strip of land close by the very spot on which it had once been contemplated to build the parish church, he disposed of it, both for church and manse These seem little things, but they were great providences to us." †

Sometimes the people were in straits, and thankfully accepted of sites on which it was difficult to get a church of any kind built. At Stevenston, the Earl of Eglinton, a kindly and popular nobleman, on being applied to by Dr. Landsborough, met his request by a curt refusal. In the neighbouring village of Saltcoats, however, a small pieee of ground was heard of, belonging to Dr. Dow, of Greenock, with a small house on it, much dilapidated. There was some doubt as to whether the space would be sufficient. Dr. Landsborough made an application for it to Dr. Dow, and that venerable and benevolent gentleman, as he states, then in his ninetieth year, "immediately wrote to me, that for the sake of the gude auld Kirk, and for the sake of the good old man, his father, who had long been a minister of that Kirk,‡ he would be delighted to give the ground

* Disr. Mss. xxxiii. pp. 5-8. † Disr. Mss. xxxvii. p. 11.

‡ "The kind-hearted doctor, who is above ninety years of age, took a right view of the matter, in thinking that though for conscience' sake we have given up the temporalities, we have not left the beloved Church of our fathers."—*Witness*, 2nd March, 1844, Dr. Landsborough.

as a free gift, and would be happy to learn that it was large enough. The materials of the old house also were kindly offered. A plan and measurement of the ground having been sent to Mr. Cousin, architect, Edinburgh, he said that there would be room for a church, but that a special plan would be necessary."* This having been furnished by Mr. Cousin, a handsome church was built, and opened by Dr. Brown, of Glasgow, in January, 1844. It was seated for seven hundred, and the whole sittings were at once let. The attendance was afterwards affected, to some extent, by the opening of two Free Churches in the neighbourhood—at Stevenston and Ardrossan.

The case of Dr. Simpson at Kintore was more trying. "Much difficulty was experienced in procuring a site for the Free Church here. Our application to the late Earl of Kintore, on whose ground it was most desirable to have our place of worship erected, met with a refusal. In consequence of this we were obliged to erect it in a swampy situation on the property of Mr. William Smith, merchant, within flood-mark of the Don, which circumstance has proved the source of very great inconvenience and discomfort. Owing to the extreme softness of the foundation, thin brick walls were built on a basement of stone, and these being found incapable of sustaining a slated roof, felt was resorted to, which has proved an insufficient covering. Our case in this respect is rather singular, for when the river overflows, the water finds its way to a considerable depth into the under building, while, during a shower, the rain has often come down upon us overhead in many places. This has been no slight trial, but we have now [1847] the prospect of relief, as the guardians of Lord Kintore have granted an eligible site in the most handsome manner."†

There were parishes in which it was only in consequence of some remarkable conjunction of circumstances that sites were obtained. At Forgandenny, the difficulties threatened to prove insurmountable. "While we were in our thatched cottage," Mr. Drummond writes, "a note was sent to me from the lady of one of the leading heritors, to ask if I and my adhering

* Disr. Mss. xxxix. p. 5.

† Parker Mss., Paper by Dr. Simpson, p. 5.

people would be content with a site at the Path of Condie, if such a site could be obtained. Now, the Path of Condie lies fully five miles from the bulk of our people, and in the highest part of the Ochils. It was utterly impossible that we could accept of such an offer. It was as much as to say that there could be no Free Church here, and that we must abandon all hope of remaining in the parish. Besides, as she added in her note, she was not sure whether her husband would be able to secure ground for us there. Indeed, a United Presbyterian Chapel existed in that elevated region already, so that there was no room for us. . . . We had just begun to consider whether it were possible to obtain sites for church and manse, and we had made two applications to the heritors, whose ground was in all respects the most suitable. We knew well that it would be utterly hopeless to approach the other two. Both of these applications were indignantly rejected. In the meantime, we had some slight hope that we might secure a portion of a liferent property, which would perfectly suit our purpose. The liferenter having previously fallen into pecuniary difficulties, had sold his right to a party in Perth, who was then in possession of it.

"That property had an interesting history. When the last holder, who succeeded to his grandfather, took possession of it, the proprietor, to whom it was to lapse at his death, disputed his title to it, and accordingly raised an action against him before both the Sub-Sheriff and Sheriff of Perth, and lost in both cases. When this heritor, however, learned that we were looking after a part of it, he determined, if possible, to get hold of the whole property. With that view he carried the question to the Court of Session, and the day was actually fixed by the Supreme Court for trying the case. But in the meantime, —— happened to be on a visit to the said proprietor, who showed him the papers connected with the business; —— advised him to proceed no farther, for, said he, the Court is sure to decide against you. Disappointed in this direction, his next plan was to buy up the liferent. Accordingly, he actually went to the holder's man of business in Perth, with the intention of purchasing it. But it so happened that a friend of ours preceded

him, and having concluded a bargain for part of the land in our favour, was coming down stairs from the agent's office, when he met the said heritor going up on his fruitless errand." *

At Peebles, the site on which the church is built "belonged to nine different proprietors, all either indifferent or hostile to the Church. Yet, to the amazement of not a few, every difficulty yielded to the indefatigable perseverance and consummate prudence of the Free Church Committee in their negotiations with the proprietors of the ground. This was all the more remarkable, seeing that it was the very spot which the Relief congregation earnestly desired, and strove, without success, to obtain, . . . some fifteen or twenty years before." †

In not a few of these cases much of the burden and anxiety fell on the minister.

"Peculiar difficulties occurred in connection with the Free Church cause in Roslin. The landed proprietors were all hostile, and ground for building could not be obtained from any of them. The elders were despondent, and knew not what to do. In these circumstances, Mr. Brown was constrained, entirely on his own responsibility, to purchase an old house in Roslin village, in order to get the garden as a site for a Free Church. The old house was repaired and used for some years as a schoolhouse." ‡

At Girthon, Mr. Jeffrey's "greatest anxiety during the five months of his last illness was about a site for the church. . . . It appears marvellous, on looking back twenty years, to comprehend the hatred evinced by the Established party against the Free Church, and in Girthon, every kind of petty scheme of annoyance was resorted to to prevent a site being got. I do not know how many sites were fixed on, and when almost everything was arranged, objections were raised against the work proceeding. All this lay most heavily on Mr. Jeffrey's head during his illness, and he was not aware of the site being finally obtained till about an hour before his death. Mr. Pearson, one of his elders, told him of it. He was very thank-

* Disr. Mss. liii. pp. 7-13.

† Disr. Mss. xii. p. 6.

‡ Parker Mss., Presb. of Dalkeith, Rev. D. Brown, p. 1.

ful, and prayed for a blessing to rest upon the church about to be erected." *

These extracts will show the obstacles which had in many cases to be overcome before sites could be obtained, but even after this was done the difficulties were often far from being ended. It not unfrequently happened that the opposition of landlords and tenants showed itself in refusing the usual facilities for obtaining building materials, and there were districts of the country in which this proved a very serious hindrance.

At one time it was thought that a site for a church would not be obtained in Madderty, Perthshire—"But at last the people succeeded in procuring a piece of moor-ground from a small proprietor, having been refused a site on another property on which it would have been most suitable and central for the scattered population. On the same property on which a site was refused there was a quarry, from which the people could not be allowed to take stones for the building of the church, and they were consequently under the necessity of bringing all the stones from a place ten miles distant. All the landed proprietors in the parish were hostile to the principles of the Free Church." †

The greatest difficulty in some cases was sand. When the church was commenced at Cleish "none of the neighbouring proprietors would allow us to take sand from the pits on their property, so that the work was put a stop to, till the wife of the proprietor of Gairney Bank, parish of Kinross, in the absence of her husband, ventured to send us several cart-loads of sand, which were afterwards repeated with his consent. Previous to this, however, permission had been obtained to dig sand from the side of a public road. A man was sent, accordingly, to procure the necessary supply, and already a considerable quantity had been thrown out, and was lying on the roadside ready to be wheeled away next morning. But during the night a man, who possessed a small property in the neighbourhood of the spot, . . . filled up the hole with the sand, alternating each

* Parker Mss., Presb. of Kirkcudbright.

† Disr. Mss. xxv. p. 4.

spadeful with a spadeful of earth, thus rendering it useless for the purpose." *

At Portpatrick, they had to bring their supply from a greater distance. "The Free Church congregation at the time of the Disruption were exposed to considerable hardship from the refusal of sites. The proprietor of the soil was keenly opposed to the movement, and did all in his power to put it down. Sand for building required to be brought all the way from Brodick Bay, in Arran." †

At Forgandenny, the circumstances that occurred called forth an unusual amount of feeling. "Having fixed upon a suitable spot for the church, we instantly made preparations for building, as we were anxious to have the congregation safely under roof before winter should come. A plan was got and approved of. Estimates for the different departments of the work were accepted. And now to us a very important question arose—where was the needful *sand* to be got ? There was no difficulty about *stones*, for the contracting masons had a quarry on lease in the neighbourhood, from which they could take as much building material, unchallenged, as they might require. But the *sand*—where could we look for it ?

"We were aware that sand of the best kind had for a long time been taken from a bank in the bed of the River Earn. We resolved therefore to supply ourselves with what we might require from that quarter, not dreaming that opposition would be offered on the part of any one. Accordingly, carts were sent down to bring up a first supply, but on the servants returning for a second they were served with an interdict, at the instance of a neighbouring proprietor, and were obliged to come back empty. They were summoned to appear before the Sheriff on a charge of trespass and theft. This looked a very serious case. Still we were convinced that we had a right to take as much sand as we needed from that spot. Six men, all of excellent character, informed us that they had driven it, unhindered, one for sixty years, two for more than fifty, and the rest for upwards of forty-five years, and that they were willing to attend the Sheriff Court and give evidence upon oath to that effect. They did so, and

* Disr. Mss. xii. p. 3. † Parker Mss., Presb. of Stranraer.

thus the Sheriff had no alternative but to declare from the bench that the servants had committed no trespass, seeing that the public had a prescription to take sand for building and other purposes from the bed of the Earn. And yet he most unwarrantably saddled the innocent men with the expenses of the process.

"It so happened, however, that a gentleman in Edinburgh, who had long been in the habit of frequenting Pitkaithly Wells for two or three months in the year, and who, therefore, felt some interest in what transpired in our county, read the account of the decision in a Perth newspaper which he was wont to receive. He felt for the servants, and was shocked to learn that any expenses were laid upon them. I had never met with that benevolent individual before, and had had no previous communication with him. The expenses had been already paid by us, but he sent me an order for the amount, to be handed to the servants, which they on the following Sabbath put into the plate to aid in building the church. We had no further trouble about the sand." *

In the midst of these difficulties it not unfrequently happened that the most effective help came from the female members of the church. At Old Meldrum, Aberdeenshire, the site was obtained in a way well deserving of notice. A lady, Mrs. Smith, had a small piece of ground very near Old Meldrum, where she came to reside. Formerly she had lived in Aberdeen, and while there had attended a meeting of Synod, in which the Church question was discussed, and at which Mr. Garioch, of Old Meldrum, had taken part in the debate. She had formerly been opposed to the principles of the Evangelical majority; but the effect of that discussion was an entire change of her views, and a firm resolution to advance the cause which hitherto she had opposed. Along with her husband, she removed to Old Meldrum, and occupied one of the houses that belonged to her. One day, in the course of his visitation, Mr. Garioch called at the house, and as he left, Mrs. Smith said to him, "I see now the likelihood of a speedy disruption in

* Disr. Mss. liii. pp. 8-10.

the Church, and when that takes place, if you will accept of a site on my ground for the church which will then be required, I will not only give it with pleasure, but will consider that the favour is done to me in its being accepted." The generous offer was cordially accepted, and when the time came the church was built on the site thus providentially procured. *

At Penicuik, the ground belonged to Sir George Clerk, who held an important office under Government. He had taken an active part in the Ten Years' Conflict; but after the Disruption, the spirit which he displayed was widely different from that of Lord Aberdeen. On being applied to, he not only refused a site, but when the people had bought for themselves an eligible piece of ground, he interposed, as superior of the barony, to claim the right of pre-emption, and so effectually shut them out. At a subsequent period, when they had purchased a cottage and proposed to enlarge it as a manse, he again successfully interfered to prevent their adding to the comfort of their pastor. These efforts, however, to put down the obnoxious Free Church were not successful. A respectable old woman named Helen Wilson had died leaving part of a cottage and a garden, which were put up for sale by public auction. The purchaser was Charles Cowan, Esq., M.P., who made a present of the garden as a site to the Free Church. The ground was held on lease from Sir George's estate at Penicuik, but as 400 years of the lease were still to run, it was fortunately a good way out of reach. On this piece of ground a church was built. As the little garden, however, was triangular in shape, the church had necessarily to be somewhat similar in form. It was opened in the month of October. "The pulpit was placed behind, near the apex of the triangle, and the seating was necessarily disposed in segments of a circle, the area of the church being somewhat in the form of a fan. The front is about a hundred feet in length, and considering the very awkward shape of the ground, "the effect of the whole is peculiarly pleasing." † Subsequently Sir G. Clerk gave ground for a manse, and ultimately the advantageous site where the present Free Church stands, on reasonable terms.

* Parker Mss., Presb. of Garioch.

† *Witness*, 26th June, 1844, and 16th October, 1844.

A similar case, which obtained a yet greater share of public notice, occurred at Thornhill, a considerable village in the upper part of Dumfriesshire. Most of the ground belongs to the Duke of Buccleuch, whose influence was predominant in the district, and as he had unfortunately taken an attitude of keen hostility to the Free Church, there was great difficulty in obtaining a site. It happened, however, that a poor woman named Janet Fraser, a stocking weaver, had a small property, consisting of two cottages and a plot of ground, the whole yielding a rent of about £6 a-year. Thirty years before she had formed a resolution to dedicate this property in some way to the cause of God, and when the Free Church congregation, finding themselves in difficulties, asked whether she would sell it, she intimated her purpose to hand it over as a free gift. Some delay occurred, as there was another site which the congregation would have preferred, and the poor woman spent the interval in some anxiety, as the idea had taken possession of her mind that if the site were refused it would be a token that the Lord had cast out her gift. "In the meantime, there came a person who was understood to act for the Duke of Buccleuch, and offered to treat for the purchase of the ground. He began by offering £25, but presently advanced to £50. Janet cut him short by her noble reply—she had devoted it to her Maker, and she would not take £500, no nor all the dukedom of Queensbery for her ground, under a prohibition to give it to the Almighty. It was finally arranged that she should receive a small rent for it during her life, and that on her death it should become the property of the congregation. Upon the ground thus bestowed the Free Church of Thornhill has been erected. It has one rather significant peculiarity. The south wall has a deforming bend, which interferes with the symmetry of an otherwise goodly edifice. Eighteen inches more of ground would have made the wall straight. But these eighteen inches would have encroached on the Duke's march [boundary], and so the wall is crooked."

When a deputation from the Free Church visited America, this story of Janet Fraser seems greatly to have taken the fancy of our Transatlantic friends. At the meetings, Dr. Burns says: "we always placed the Principal (Cunningham) in the

foreground, as the vigorous and successful exponent of Acts of Parliament and Claims of Right. But he generally concluded when he paid a tribute to worthy Janet Fraser and the 'crook in the wa'.' On such occasions the starched features of our dear American friends were pleasantly relaxed into something not unlike a laugh, by the exciting contrast between the outgoings of a massive intellect and the playings of fancy around the circle of a good story." *

Dr. Cunningham himself, when addressing the Assembly on his return, adverted to the topic. "Perhaps no one in this country has excited a greater degree of sympathy in America than Janet Fraser. They were acquainted with her case, they knew the trials to which she had been subjected, and I have brought home many expressions of cordial regard and sympathy for her. I hold in my hands a pair of silver spectacles, the gift of a Scotchwoman in New York, who desired me to send them to Janet."

At Carmylie, Forfarshire, Mrs. Gardyne, a member of the congregation, attempted to render a similar service, but unfortunately it cost her the loss of the property which she believed was hers in liferent. The narrative, by Dr. Wilson, of Dundee, then of Carmylie, strikingly brings out the difficulties of the time.

"The factor of Lord Panmure offered a site at the extreme western boundary of the parish, which was refused as ineligible, being so remote from the great bulk of the congregation. During the summer of 1843, the congregation worshipped in the open air at the small hamlet of Milton. An aged widow, Mrs. Gardyne, a member of the congregation, who supposed she had a liferent interest in the cottage and garden she occupied at Milton, offered to the congregation a portion of her garden on which to erect a temporary building for worship. The congregation gladly availed themselves of this offer, and erected, accordingly, a wooden church, roofed with felt, which was opened for worship on the first Sabbath of October, 1843. In this building the congregation, numbering from 300 to 400, worshipped with great comfort till Whitsunday, 1844.

* Life of Dr. Burns, p. 179.

At this date Mrs. Gardyne was evicted from her cottage, and obliged to take refuge with her son in Arbroath, with whom she lived thereafter, till her death; and the congregation, by interdict granted by the Sheriff of the county, was prohibited from again entering the church which they had built. During the summer of 1844, as in the summer of the previous year, they worshipped in the open air by the wayside. Before the winter set in they procured a canvas tent, and in that they worshipped during the winter of 1844-45, when the weather was quiet. There was no sort of shelter from the wind in the locality, and in stormy weather the tent could not be erected. In stormy weather, therefore, they worshipped in the barn at Mains of Carmylie, the use of which was kindly granted by Mr. James Kydd, farmer at Mains, an elder of the congregation. . . . It is worth while to record one of those humourous hits to which the circumstances of the congregation gave rise. A farmer, James Gardyne, a member of the Free Church, was walking home from Arbroath on the market-day, Saturday, and overtook by the road a brother farmer, Henry Suttie, a member of the Established Church, who was riding home. Henry's horse had taken an obstinate fit, and refused, in spite of flogging and spurring, to move onwards. 'Oo, Henry, man,' said James in passing, 'what's the matter wi' your horse? Has onybody put an *interdict* upon him?' Henry had been particularly jubilant on the subject of the interdict served upon the Free Church.

"In the spring of 1845, frequent consultations were held among the office-bearers as to what should be done. There seemed to be no prospect of relief from the hardships under which the congregation were suffering, and although none of the members had been shaken in their allegiance through the hardships to which they were exposed, it was clearly their duty, if possible, to alleviate these hardships. It is proper to record, however, to the praise of a bountiful Providence, that though the congregation often sat in the tent at worship on winter days with their feet resting upon ice, none of them, so far as is known, suffered in health. Two neighbouring congregations, those of Arbirlot and Panbride, to whom a site had also been

refused by Lord Panmure, following the example of the congregation at Carmylie, had, in the summer of 1843, erected wooden churches after the model of the one at Carmylie, and Lord Panmure had not interfered with their occupancy of them. These churches were built on the lands of farmers who had a lease, and could not be evicted, as Mrs. Gardyne had been. The congregation at Carmylie resolved to adopt a similar course, and for the second time to erect a wooden church.

"It is necessary to explain why they did not make the attempt at an earlier date. Those members of the congregation who rented lands on the Panmure estates were of two classes—crofters and farmers. In Carmylie there were a large number of these crofters renting from four to fifteen acres of land. They had no written leases, and were liable to be evicted at the will of the proprietor. In 1843, it happened that the leases of all the farmers in Carmylie expired. During the summer of 1843, all the crofters and farmers who were members of the Free Church were waited upon by the ground-officer, and warned that the only condition on which they would be allowed to retain their premises, was by returning to the Established Church. They were assured that Lord Panmure would not tolerate on his estates any member or adherent of the Free Church. The farmers who applied for a renewal of their leases received the same information from the factor. At Whitsunday, 1844, some of the crofters were evicted as a warning to all the rest, who were informed that they would be allowed to continue in occupancy for another year, to see whether they would not within that time quietly return to the Established Church. It is due to the people who were thus harassed and threatened, to say that not one of them complied with the terms of the proprietor.

"Meantime, during the summer of 1844, a new trial awaited them. In the neighbouring parish of Panbride, Mr. Ireland had held the lease of the farm of Firth, bordering on Carmylie parish. Mr. Ireland had subscribed the Convocation resolutions of 1842, and professed the principles of the Free Church. His lease, like those of the Carmylie farmers, expired in 1843, and, as matter of course, he was subjected to the same test.

He consented to return to the Established Church, and as a reward for his apostasy, had his lease renewed in 1844 on highly advantageous terms. He immediately set to work as an emissary of the proprietor, and waited upon the Free Church farmers of Carmylie to represent to them what an excellent bargain he had made with the factor, having got his lease renewed at a greatly reduced rent, and that if they would only consent to return to the Established Church he was authorised to assure them that their leases would be renewed on equally advantageous terms. Some of the farmers were in greater danger of being shaken by this inducement than by the threats which had previously been thundered against them. It is possible that some of them might have been worn out and induced to yield, but for a providential occurrence which produced a considerable sensation in the district.

"The autumn of 1844 came on, and Mr. Ireland reaped his crop of grain, the first crop under his new lease, and had it all safely lodged in the barn-yard. The Sabbath after such an important operation is finished is regarded by the farmers in the locality as an occasion for peculiar thanksgiving. Mr. Ireland, of course, on that Sabbath went to the parish church, and died there during the celebration of public worship, before he had sold one boll of that crop for which he had paid so dear. This striking and awful occurrence in Providence had the effect of showing the Carmylie farmers how little security the proprietor could give them in the most favourable bargain they could make with him. Perhaps, also, it had its influence on those who had been so sorely trying and oppressing them. At all events, the system of threatening and bribing ceased from that time.

"In 1845, Lord Panmure commenced giving leases to the Free Church farmers. Now, therefore, the congregation were in a position to follow the course which had been adopted at Arbirlot and Panbride. During the summer of that year, therefore, they commenced the erection of a new wooden church, having obtained the permission of the tenant, Mr. James Kydd, the renewal of whose lease had also led to another important amelioration in their circumstances. On the farm

there was an old and a new farm-house. Mr. Kydd occupied the old house and gave the new one for the temporary occupancy of the minister, who was thus, after a banishment of two years, restored to the close neighbourhood of his people, and to his pastoral work among their families. No sooner, however, had they commenced preparations for the erection of a second wooden church, by building a dwarf stone wall for a foundation, than Lord Panmure's factor interposed. He ordered the mason who was engaged at the work immediately to stop, and when the mason answered that he would only stop on the order of those who employed him, the factor had recourse to Mr. Kydd, and informed him that he had no right to permit the erection of such a building, and that unless its progress was immediately arrested, an interdict would be obtained, both against him and the office-bearers of the congregation. Mr. Kydd having consulted with the minister, who now resided in the adjoining house, answered, that of course they would submit to an interdict, but that nothing else would arrest the progress of the building,

"Having heard this conclusive reply, the factor immediately changed his tactics, for neither he nor Lord Panmure was quite prepared to brave the odium of another interdict. He then, on the part of Lord Panmure, made the offer of a site, on very reasonable terms, and on the very spot of ground which the congregation had vainly solicited for the purpose more than two years previously. A missive, conveying the ground to the extent of a Scotch acre for the erection of a church and manse on a lease of ninety-nine years, was drawn up and subscribed on the spot, and the protracted conflict seemed to be now happily ended. The mason was instructed, not, indeed, to suspend operations, but merely to change the locality of them. The ground thus leased was taken possession of on that very day; and as the congregation needed a temporary shelter for the approaching winter, they set to work to erect a wooden church on the site. They were the rather induced to do this, inasmuch as the factor, to their surprise, made it a condition, to them a very welcome one, that they should forthwith remove the wooden church they had built at Milton two years pre-

viously, and from which they had been shut out by interdict. This church, so long locked up, was accordingly transferred to the new and central site which had been granted.

"But a new difficulty occurred before this could be accomplished. The ground for which the missive had been obtained formed part of the farm of Mr. Henry Suttie. On the day after the factor had subscribed the missive, his son was observed riding up to the farm. The congregation suspected no harm, for it might be necessary to negotiate with Mr. Suttie for the transference of the acre of ground, and the compensation to be given him for the loss of it. At the end of the week, however, the object of the visit became apparent, for on Saturday all the office-bearers of the congregation were served with an interdict at the instance of Mr. Suttie. It appeared that while Lord Panmure and his factor were desirous of escaping the odium of an interdict, they had no objection to expose the farmer to it. Building operations were thus again suspended.

"On the Monday after the service of the interdict, however, the minister and two of the elders waited upon Lord Panmure's agent in Forfar, and represented to him that the interdict really lay against his lordship; that he had granted the congregation a site, and was bound to put them in possession of it; and that if it was pleaded that he had no control over Mr. Suttie, and could only put them in possession of the ground with his consent, there was more than one of the crofters in the immediate neighbourhood who would interpose no obstacle in the way of his lordship's granting an acre, which the congregation were quite willing to accept. In these circumstances the agent could scarcely fail to see that the odium of the interdict would still attach to Lord Panmure. He was evidently a good deal perplexed, and asked the minister what could be done. The minister replied, 'It was at the suggestion of the factor that Mr. Suttie applied for this interdict, and if the factor tells him to withdraw it he will be equally obedient.' This was the course actually followed; and on the following Saturday the interdict was withdrawn, and the harassing troubles of the congregation were thus ended."*

* Parker Mss., Presb. of Dundee. Paper by Dr. Wilson.

In contrast to all this hostility, however, there were, in many parts of the country, singular examples of generous liberality among the friends of the Church. At the General Assembly which met five months after the Disruption, Mr. Hamilton, in stating the general amount of contributions, referred to some of these cases as specially deserving of notice. "To this sum must be added the munificent donations in kind which have been contributed to our cause, but which do not appear as cash in our treasurer's books—that is to say, the entire churches which have been built by individuals at their own charges, and freely presented to the Church. Of these we have to record the following—viz., the Dowager Marchioness of Breadalbane gives a church and also a manse at Langton; Mr. Hog, of Newliston, gives a church and manse at Kirkliston; Mr. Campbell, of Monzie, gives a church at Monzie and another at Dalmally; Miss Arthur of Barnslee gives a church and manse at Markinch; Miss Ann Trail gives a church at Papa Westra; Mr. Young gives a church at Burntisland; Mr. Johnston and Mr. Lennox, of New York, give £1100 to erect a church at Kirkcudbright; and to these most honourable instances of liberality we have to add the bounty of that distinguished nobleman who, after having proved from first to last the staunch and unflinching advocate of our principles in high places, has given us the satisfaction of seeing him this day in the midst of us an efficient working elder of the Free Church of Scotland. Lord Breadalbane, besides presenting to the Presbytery of Perth the entire stock of larch timber stored in his yards at Perth—being timber of the noblest growth produced in Scotland, and in the most perfect state of seasoning—has given two million of slates from his celebrated quarries in Argyllshire, the value of which alone is not less than £4000 sterling. His lordship has further proposed to confer on the Church the benefit of the right which he enjoys under his patent as Admiral of the West Coast of Scotland to the driftwood stranded upon its shores. . . . And in addition to all this, Lord Breadalbane is now exercising, in innumerable nameless acts, a liberality and bounty toward the various churches rising within the bounds of his own princely domain which

will promote the vital interests of his people, and root him in their affections to a degree which nothing else could accomplish, and which present an example to the aristocracy of Scotland which it is deeply to be deplored so few of them have yet shown a disposition to imitate."*

It was thus that the wealthy members of the Church were casting their costly gifts into the treasury of the Lord. But there was something peculiarly touching in the way in which the poorer classes gave according to their ability, and when money failed them, supplemented their offerings by gratuitous labour. The carriage of materials in many districts is a heavy item of expense, and this was usually done free of charge by the farmers. The working classes had to take other methods, and in the following extracts the reader will find some examples of what was occurring to a great extent in very many of the parishes of Scotland.

At Catrine it is reported: "We found the people assembled for the purpose of collecting funds to build a church." An interdict had been applied for by the Establishment party to turn them out of their *quoad sacra* place of worship. "The spirit that prevailed was most healthful. Three hundred of the young women employed in the mill have undertaken to raise £300, by leaving one shilling a-week of their wages in the hands of their employer for the purpose of building. Before the meeting concluded a hundred and thirty persons had subscribed £450, and I have no doubt that before this month is ended the whole sum required to build a church of 1100 or 1200 sittings will be subscribed." †

At Olrig, in the North, the foundation-stone was laid on the 28th of June by Mr. Mackenzie, the minister, and this having been done, "in the evening after the labours of the day were over the people turned out to gather materials to build the walls. Upwards of 100 men commenced carrying from the sea-shore to the beach large stones, to which there was no access by carts, some of them bearing their burdens on hand-barrows—some bearing them on their backs."‡

* Assembly Proceedings, Glasgow, 1843, p. 111.

† *Monthly Statement*, March, 1844, p. 3. ‡ *Witness*, 12th July, 1843.

At Tobermory, in the Island of Mull, a site was obtained from Mr. Caldwell. Next day, "a number of the people commenced quarrying and blasting stones, others clearing the foundation, under the superintendence of two aged and experienced tradesmen, chosen by the people at a meeting held for arranging matters, and for appointing a committee of management to guide our proceedings, and among other becoming resolutions it was agreed that no person was to be employed about the work found guilty of taking excess of ardent spirits, or swearing of any kind. The foundation-stone was laid on the 14th July. The Rev. P. Maclean, our minister, attended, . . . read the 7th chapter of 2 Samuel, and offered up a most impressive prayer in the hearing of the multitude, who united in their Amen. Lime and gravel have been brought to the stance by boatmen, mostly free from freight, as their aid to build the Free Church. Masons are offering a week of their labour gratis ; some with horses and carts work to the value of a pound sterling, and poor labourers do work generally six and seven days, to some of whom we are obliged to give meal while serving some of their time, for which they work, in addition to the time subscribed for. Such is the poverty of some of the people that the plan is absolutely necessary. . . . However, we are resolved to show that what we can do we shall do." *

"At Aberdour, Fifeshire, a beautiful and central site for the Free Church has been procured from Robert Anderson, Esq., . . . and such is the life and energy of the people that every night from 50 to 100 men, after closing their daily labour, are to be seen working with all their might till dusk, gratuitously, at the building." †

From a parish in Caithness, the minister writes in the month of June : "The people are most impatient to have the church up, and last evening old and young turned out—eighty spades were at work—and in less than half-an-hour the foundation was dug out, and before two hours had elapsed the earth was all disposed of in making up some hollow ground in the neighbourhood. Nothing can exceed the enthusiasm of all parties. We are the first to commence, and I hope in the course of three

* *Monthly Statement*, August, 1843. † *Witness*, 12th August, 1843

months the roof will be on. The wood for the roof and floor is ordered. Lime and stone we have. The farmers turn out to-morrow to the cartage, and the masons commence on the 26th to the side walls." *

In this way the humbler classes evinced their attachment to the cause which they had at heart. Any one who has stood, as the writer has, in the midst of such a group of workers on these occasions, must have felt what a labour of love it was. They were joyful scenes at the time, and in after days the very fact of the people having themselves put a hand to the work, attached them to the building in a way which no money contributions could have done, making them feel as if the church belonged personally to themselves.

One of the most remarkable examples of the extent to which the people sometimes carried this feeling—identifying themselves with their church—occurred at Methven, Perthshire.

" Considerably more than a hundred years ago, Mr. Grahame, of Balgowan, was one day passing through the village of Methven, on his return from shooting, when a dog, suddenly rushing out from a house, frightened his horse. Mr Grahame instantly levelled his fowling-piece and shot the dog, at the same time, unfortunately, wounding a child sitting on the doorstep. In order to make up matters with the father, he purchased from the laird of Methven about an acre of ground, contiguous to the man's house, and presented it to him, as a *solatium* for the rash act he had committed. On that piece of ground the Free Church is built. When I came to the place, upwards of thirty-one years ago, that child was still alive, upwards of eighty years of age, a member of the Free Church, and she prided herself not a little on the facts above stated. She was then a pauper, and unable to contribute anything for the good cause, but she considered that in the providence of God she had been honoured to do more for the Free Kirk than any one in this quarter, inasmuch as while 'others gae their siller to help to build it, she was shot to get a site for it.'" †

* *Witness*, 28th June, 1843.

† Letter from Mr. M'Leish, of Methven, 22nd January, 1877.

But now, instead of multiplying such details, it may be best to select some examples of parishes in different parts of the country, where the narratives can be given with some degree of fulness, enabling the reader to judge what was actually going forward, and how building operations were being carried on under difficulties.

The first case is that of Latheron, in the North, where we find Mr. Davidson, after building four or five churches, and losing them at the Disruption, entering once more, with characteristic ardour, into the same congenial work.

"Measures were taken for the immediate erection of a church to accommodate the same number of sitters as the one we had left, viz., about 800, and the management of the whole concern committed to myself. The site, contractor, and materials for building and roofing were got on very reasonable terms; for it so happened, providentially for the Free Church, that a large vessel laden with foreign timber was cast ashore on the coast, and the whole cargo purchased at a low price by a very zealous Free Churchman; and all the churches built that season in the county were supplied with wood of the best quality, at a very cheap rate. The foundation-stone of our church was laid with great solemnity in the beginning of September, and the building was so far finished as to admit of our worshipping in it in the end of December. The people cheerfully gave their labour in quarrying stones and carrying all the materials, so that, when finished, the cost did not exceed £350. Thus the work went on prosperously until brought to a speedy conclusion, for although little obstacles occasionally presented themselves, they were always easily removed, and sometimes in ways rather remarkable.

"At one time six lintels were wanted for the windows, and the man in charge came and told me that they had been trying to get such in the quarry for a week back and had not succeeded, and unless procured without delay the work would be stopped. This was rather serious, as the only quarry where such could be purchased was eighteen miles distant. I therefore asked him to make one trial more, and went with him, but he thought it would be in vain. I said, we must try; so we examined it, and at a particular place I said, 'What if you

should try that, as the bed seems long and narrow.' 'Yes,' he replied; 'but it is so bound that a shot may break it in pieces, but will not move the whole; only, to please you I will try.' So he did. The whole bed was moved to a considerable depth, and next day he told me that it had just furnished the six solid lintels, and neither more or less.

"Another somewhat remarkable occurrence happened a week or two afterwards. We had forgotten to provide freestone spurs for receiving the skews on the gables, and none were to be had nearer than the towns of Thurso or Wick, distant respectively twenty-three and seventeen miles. This would occasion delay; and an attempt was being made to prepare them of common stone, when a large stone resembling freestone was reported as discovered on a hill about a mile distant. A workman was sent to examine it, and found that it was real freestone. It was easily broken up, and conveyed to the building, and out of it the spurs required were all furnished. How or when this block of stone came to be here no one could tell, as the hill was entirely barren, covered with moss and heath, without any trace of the humblest dwelling within half-a-mile of it, and no account of anything of the kind having ever been found in the locality, or, indeed, in the parish before or since. These little incidents struck us very forcibly at the time, and I can hardly omit noticing them as tending to cheer us in the work."*

Beside this example from the far North, we place the case of Westruther, in the South, where difficulties of the most formidable kind had to be overcome. "So hostile," says Mr. Wood, "was the feeling towards the newly-organised Free Church of Scotland, that every one of the heritors of the parish combined to refuse every facility toward the building of a place of worship. Spottiswoode, of that ilk, the Earl of Lauderdale, Ker Seymour, of Cattleshiels, Lord Blantyre, of Wedderlie, Curle, of Evelaw, and Home, of Bassendean, would, if they could, have prevented us from obtaining a site on which to build. In this matter, however, I had been beforehand with them, and had secured a portion of a feu in the village sufficient for the pur-

* Parker Mss., Pres. of Caithness. Paper by Mr. Davidson, pp. 2, 3.

pose, and the missive was signed before any one knew anything about it. Fortunate it was that I had succeeded in this, for every attempt was made to prevent our getting possession. The disposition had been drawn up, and the lawyer from Dunse had fixed a day for its being executed, when the proprietor informed us that he had changed his mind, and did not intend to sell. He was immediately told that if he did not execute the disposition an action would be raised to compel him, and the costs paid out of the price of the land; and as he found on inquiry that he was bound by his missive, he consented with a sufficiently bad grace to sign the deed, on which we immediately took infeftment.

"Our site was thus secured, but every quarry and every sand-pit in the neighbourhood were closed against us. Wood we could procure, and lime; but the other necessaries for building were not within our reach. In these circumstances, I applied to one whom I am proud to call my friend, the late James Cunningham, of Coldstream, then at Greenlaw. Few men have more cheerfully hazarded all for the principles which they held than he did. At the time when I became acquainted with him, he was in the employment of the county as architect, surveyor of roads, &c. He was naturally inclined towards Liberal sentiments, which made him give some attention to the progress of the conflict that ended in the Disruption, and it was not long before he recognised the higher and holier principles involved in it. Then he heartily cast in his lot with the Evangelical party. No one who knows how county business is managed, especially in such a county as Berwickshire, will be surprised to learn that Mr. Cunningham was looked on coldly because of his Liberal sentiments; that his leaving the Established Church at the Disruption was considered to be an offence, and his giving counsel to me regarding the building of a Free Church, when the land-owners had resolved that, if they could help it, no Free Church should be erected at Westruther, was held to be a dereliction of duty to his employers. All this time, frankly, freely, generously he gave his valuable assistance, and I never heard a word drop from his lips which indicated the slightest reluctance to expose himself to peril, which he must very well have known was hanging over his head. . . .

"But, to return to my narrative, I laid all my difficulties before my counsellor—no stone, no sand; how are we to build the church? 'We must not be beat,' said he; 'if we cannot build of stone, we'll build of wood.' And, accordingly, he drew out a plan for such a structure. It was to consist of wooden pillars resting on stone sockets, for we had the means of securing a sufficient number of stones for this purpose, and the space between the pillars was to be filled up with planking. With this I returned home, well-pleased to find that we would not be obliged to succumb. But matters turned out somewhat better than we expected. A few days after this, and before any steps had been taken toward the erection, I was told, late in the evening, that a man wanted to speak to me, who would not give his name. On being shown into my study, he divested himself of a wrapper which had hitherto concealed his identity, and I recognised the familiar face of a feuar in the village. 'Mr Wood,' said he, 'I hear that ye're gaun to be sair pit till't to get yer kirk builded, and though I havena joined ye, yet I like ill to see ye beat. I dinna ken about stanes, but I think I can help ye to sand. My feu, ye ken, lies next to your bit land. Noo, I hear ye canna get sand, and I'm bound to tell ye that there's a vein of extraordinary fine building sand in my ground, and I mak nae doot it gangs through to yours. Ye hae only to dig, and ye'll find plenty o' sand. But be sure ye dinna let on that I tell't ye, for I dinna want to hae onybody's ill-will on my head.' Having said his say, he muffled himself up again so as not to be recognised, and took his departure. The vein of sand was found exactly as had been described, and the discovery in some degree altered our plan. We began to collect all the stones to be found in the neighbourhood. A friendly farmer carted down for us all that were lying at the corners of his fields, and, if I recollect right, was threatened for doing so. In the end we found ourselves able to build a low wall a foot and a-half above the ground, into which the stone sockets were built which supported the wooden pillars; while the interval between the pillars was filled up with a wall four inches thick, built of small stones and mortar, instead of the planking which had been at first proposed. The roof, as the fashion was in Disruption days, was

made of tarred canvas, and indeed our walls would not have borne a heavier fabric. Our church lasted for nine or ten years, by which time the hostility to the Free Church had ceased to manifest itself in the same outrageous fashion, and the temporary building was replaced by a solid and comfortable structure of stone, which was formally opened on the 1st of November, 1854."*

A third example we take from Muthill, Perthshire, in one of the central districts of Scotland. It will show with what indomitable perseverance the difficulties of many country parishes were met and overcome. Mr. Douglas, one of the licensed probationers of the Church, had been appointed to serve there for a time, and tells how he found the people in a state of discouragement. "On calling a meeting the evening after I arrived, I found them warm in the cause, but labouring under the impression that they would never be able to build a church nor to get a minister for themselves. . . . They had collected up to the second week of June only £29 for the building and Sustentation Fund. My first object was to assure them that they must have both a church of their own and a settled minister among them, and accordingly we made arrangements for working vigorously during a collecting week to raise more funds for building. The week came and passed, and the sum total of the collection was only £11. This was a proof that the fear of having no church of their own was chilling and damping all their efforts.

"It was no easy matter to get this fear altogether removed, for as the people began to be convinced of the willingness of the church at large to help them, they began to see and to feel difficulties which the church had not the power to remove. No site could be obtained—no stones—no sand for building could be had on any terms. We held many meetings, to which all friendly parties were freely admitted. There was nominally a committee, but it consisted of all who chose to come and offer advice. We had thus every engine at work. Some were appointed to inquire for a site, some for stones, some for building sand, and most earnestly did they fulfil their tasks. But all

* Disr. Mss. I. pp. 37-41.

returned with the same answer—no site, stones, or sand could be obtained for love or money. There were some feus for sale in the village, but there were legal difficulties connected with every one of them, which we saw no prospect of removing. The factor, who had the disposal of the land all around, was applied to by as influential a deputation as we could muster. That deputation waited on him, and tried all possible means to obtain what we needed, but the stern reply was, *no site, no stones, no sand.* There was plenty at our very doors, and we offered payment, but nothing could we get.*

"Hitherto all was dark. Some were despairing, many were beginning to consider what congregation in the neighbourhood they should join—not one thought of going back, not one left us. Meanwhile, I had been reappointed to serve some time longer in the Presbytery, and still to reside in Muthill. But there was less prospect than ever of getting a church, and consequently of forming a permanent congregation. However, our efforts were still continued. We were persecuted, but not forsaken; we were perplexed, but not in despair. At last light began to dawn. An old man in the village offered to give us a part of his garden as a site, and as there was no proper entry, he agreed to let us a small house in front, part of which might be removed to form an entry. We took the whole on a lease for fifty years, the longest period he would agree to, and engaged to pay £4, 8s. as rent.

"Thus, then, we had got a site, but not a stone could be had to build on it, neither could we get sand. Here we met with a most striking providence. Two men, masons, whom we had appointed to scour the country far and wide in search of building sand, were on their way to a place six miles off, where they thought they might get it. In crossing along they saw a huge heap of stones in a field, almost hidden by young trees. They went aside to look at them, and though they were great coarse

* "It is but justice, however, to add, that we afterwards got both stones and sand without payment for building the schoolhouse, by applying *directly* to Lord Willoughby, the proprietor of the surrounding lands. Unfortunately, he was in Italy when we were in our difficulties about the church."

boulders of the most unpromising kind, the men thought they would do for building, provided they could be obtained. Being satisfied of this, they went directly to the proprietor and stated the case. He received them most kindly, and gave them a full free grant of the whole heap. It contained 700 or 800 cart-loads, which had been dug out of the land and heaped up there ten years before. The place was four miles distant from the site, but no toll to pay for cartage. The proprietor who thus dealt so kindly toward us was Mr. Gillespie Graham, of Orchill.

"The two men were overjoyed. They went next to Braco Castle, and waited on Mr. G. D. Stewart. He gave them at once a free grant of as much sand as they might need. They came back rejoicing. Our way so far was now plain; we had a site, and stones, and sand for building, but we had little or no wood. We had a distant promise of help from the Building Committee in Edinburgh, but we had only £35 in hand to go on with, and the month of July was already past.

"We determined, however, to proceed. We already began to say to one another, surely the Lord is preparing our way, and we trusted that as He had now removed so many strange and apparently insurmountable obstacles, He would in due time enable us to surmount all that might meet us. We felt that what had been accomplished on our behalf was a call to go on in faith. Accordingly, plans were sketched out for the proposed building, and one for 670 sittings, with galleries, was approved of. Specifications for the walls were written out, and a contract taken for building them. Some in the congregation disapproved of this step. They thought it rash—nay, madness, to commence building a church for nearly 700 persons, with only £35 in hand, and without knowing where we are to get another penny. It certainly did seem rashness, but the reasons which moved us to attempt building so large a church with such small funds in hand could not be understood except by those who were on the spot at the time, and acquainted with the genera state of feeling among the people. We acted, as we thought, for the best. We could count on all the cartage of materials free, and we thought that our £35 would meet some incidental expenses till the walls

would be finished, and then we could go to the people and ask more money. We went even further—we bought wood for roof and floors, and took contracts for finishing the whole outer shell of the church without ever attempting to raise more money.

"We were in this state, the work going on in the month of November. The Assembly met in Glasgow, and I shall never forget the feelings awakened within me when in giving in one of the reports, Dr. Chalmers spoke of the pernicious madness of a congregation in the North, who proposed to build a church for 700, with less than £40 in their subscription books. Perhaps he alluded to some other, but I felt that it could be no other than my own poor congregation (I had been ordained to the pastoral charge of it in September). I felt crushed by the expression, but was relieved a good deal when the Rev. Dr. said he would name no names.

"On my return from the Assembly, I found the work still going on. The roof was up and the slates ready to put on. It was high time to get more cash. We were already in debt for upwards of £200, and our £35 was all spent. We resolved to try another subscription, although the two previous trials had yielded only £35. The great bulk of the people had said—'We'll subscribe no more till we see a church built;' not a very likely way, certainly, to get a church, but such was their determination, and so strong, that we saw it vain to attempt overcoming it. But we could now go to the people and meet them on their own ground—the church was built. Accordingly, the collectors were furnished with books, a week appointed for collecting, an appeal made to the people on the Sabbath, and it was well answered. In less than a week we had collected above £100. This surprised everybody—the people were so poor. However, this sum was not enough. Another effort must be made. A day was fixed, about a month thereafter, for opening the church, which was as yet only a mere shell, fitted up with temporary benches on the ground floor. The day was stormy, but £57 was collected at the church door, and the highest offering was £1 note. This astonished every one, and did more to confound our adversaries than anything that had yet happened. About the same time

we got £169 from the General Building Fund. Thus we were out of debt, all things paid for, and £80 in the bank.

"We now saw our way more clearly. The people were in better spirits. They saw more what they could do. Yet every one felt disposed to admire the wonderful providence by which our matters had hitherto been overruled.

"In the spring of 1844 we behoved to make further efforts. The church was not half-finished. Contracts were taken for finishing. Another subscription was raised in May, 1844, and when the work was finished we had another opening collection in November, which produced £26. In that month the seats were allocated, and the congregation requested to contribute whatever they felt able as entry-money for the seats. This produced nearly £30. Still there was debt, and some work to do in fittings and painting, &c. &c. Another subscription was raised to meet these demands, and exceeded them. Thus every farthing of debt was paid, and a balance over." *

In the midst of all these struggles, in different districts, there was one favourable circumstance which should not be forgotten—the low rate of building materials and wages in 1843. If the price had been what it soon afterwards became, it would have been difficult, even with all the self-denial of the Church's friends, to have contended with such an undertaking. But in the providence of God it was ordered that there was little demand for building operations in the country, except the building of these churches.

"Many remarked," Dr. Lorimer, of Glasgow, states, "the moderate cost of building in that year. It was commonly said that the same buildings a few years later would have cost one-third more." †

In 1845, Mr. Earle Monteith, in giving in the report on the New College, mentioned that, "from circumstances which are too well known to require illustration, the rate of wages and the price of materials have so much increased, that although when the estimates were made out it would have been built for £20,000, we have learned from Mr. Playfair that if it is to be

* Disr. Mss. viii. pp. 3-9. † Parker Mss., Presb. of Glasgow.

built now, there will be 25 per cent. of an increase on the estimates, and that which will now cost £25,000 might have been built last year (1844) at a cost of £20,000."*

Even in 1844 one of the Glasgow newspapers states: "We are informed that the advance in the price of American timber within the last twelvemonths has been nearly 50 per. cent." †

Thus rapidly were the prices going up. It was surely one of the providential circumstances connected with the Disruption that at a time when 700 churches had to be erected the building trades had less employment of any other kind than had been known for a course of years, and that both wages and the price of building materials had sunk to a point which they have not often reached.

There is a deeply-seated instinct of the Scottish national character which occasionally came into view—the desire, amidst the activities of the present, to keep hold of the memories of the past.

Sometimes it appeared in connection with trivial circumstances. "The old parish church of Stevenston dated back to Roman Catholic times, and when a new church was erected, the old weather-cock had been given to Major Martin, who made a present of it to Mr. Landsborough. It had been fixed in one of the outhouses of the manse, but at the flitting after the Disruption, Mr. Landsborough did not forget it, and when Saltcoats Free Church was completed, the poor cock, who had fallen from his high estate and passed through many vicissitudes, was again exalted to his former dignity, where he looks as proud and self-important as when he presided over 'the auld kirk o' Steynston.'"‡

Sometimes it came in a form which appealed to more solemn memories. At Muirkirk, the people met on the 27th of August, when addresses were delivered and services held for two hours, which ended in the singing of the last verses of Psalm cxxii. "A blue silk banner, having a St. Andrew's cross in faded white on the upper and inner border, and a dark-coloured crown over a thistle opposite, with the words painted brown in the centre, 'Moorkirk—For God—King and Covenant,' and which is said to

* Assembly Proceedings. † *Witness*, 28th Dec. 1844. ‡ Memoir, p. 170.

have seen service at Drumclog, was furnished for the occasion by Mr. John Gemmill, farmer at Garple, in the parish, to whose family this heirloom has now descended from the Campbells of Auldhouse Burn, also in the parish." * In such circumstances we see the natural tendencies of the Scottish mind, and it is not difficult in that incident, the carrying forth of the old, faded, blue-silk banner, to read what were the sentiments which filled men's hearts when they met together to lay the foundation-stone of their church.

But now, in the midst of these difficulties on the one hand, and that assistance on the other, we may note the progress of church building. It was marked and rapid. In May, 1844—one year after the Disruption—it was reported that 470 churches were already built and completed, or on the point of immediate completion. Fifty of the *quoad sacra* churches were still retained, so that as the result of one year's work, 520 congregations were already provided for.

In May, 1845, sixty additional churches were reported as finished.

Again, in 1846, ninety-five new churches were added, and in May, 1847, fifty-five more were reported. Thus, at the end of four years, considerably more than 700 churches had been provided.

Among the hundreds of buildings thus put up, it must be admitted that there were many whose architectural appearance was of the humblest kind. The Church might well be satisfied, indeed, with the skill of those architects—men of high standing—who, with more than professional zeal, gave their services to the cause. But their task was a difficult one. The grant from the general fund was at the rate of five shillings a-sitting. In many cases the poverty of the people did not allow of their raising any adequate additional sum,† and very humble buildings, therefore, had to be erected. Even in the larger towns,

* *Witness*, 14th Sept. 1844.

† At Latheron, a church seated for 800 is built for £350, another in the North is reported as finished at eight shillings a-sitting. What could architects do within such limits?

wealthy congregations vied with each other in the effort to make their churches cheap and plain, in order that they might be able the more liberally to help their poorer brethren in the country.

And yet, in spite of all this, cases were not awanting in which cheapness of construction was combined with no small measure of architectural effect. This was seen, for example, at Saltcoats, where a site was obtained, as we saw, through the kindness of Dr. Dow. "The ground," Dr. Landsborough writes, "was in an excellent situation, but, as it was triangular, we feared that it might not answer as a site of a church, especially as a person of some architectural skill said that it was out of the question. Knowing the high character of Mr. Cousin, of Edinburgh, as an architect, we applied to him for advice, giving him a plan of the ground. He wrote, that a church containing 700 sittings might be erected on it, but that it would require a special plan." Though they had to keep within fifteen shillings a-sitting, it is said, "We have got not only a cheap and substantial church, but one which is tasteful in its external appearance, and still more so in its internal arrangements. I am more than borne out in all that I have stated by what was said to me by a baronet, not only of good taste, but of so much acknowledged worth, that I wish I could say he is a Free Churchman. 'I have just been admiring,' said he, 'your new church. It and the church at Ascog (Free), in Bute, are the most beautiful churches in Scotland.' 'That is highly complimentary, Sir ——,' said I. 'Yes,' he replied, 'but the compliment is merited.'" *

The most remarkable, however, of such cases, was the building erected for the three leading congregations in Aberdeen. The site was the finest in that city, and was admirably turned to account by the architect who had been selected. One of the local newspapers, far from friendly to the Free Church, described the building at the time of its opening as having "added a new and strikingly picturesque feature to the already numerous architectural embellishments of our city. The fabric is composed of a group of three churches, and when viewed from Union

* *Witness*, 2nd March, 1844.

Bridge has the aspect of a cathedral. . . . In the angle, formed by the nave and south transept, rises a lofty square tower, from which springs a spire of the most airy proportions. The height of the tower is 90 feet, and of the spire, 84; making the whole elevation above the ground level 174 feet, and above the Denburn, 204 feet. . . . The style of the fabric, which is most chastely and appropriately sustained throughout, is that of the simple lancet Gothic. The effect of the group is extremely imposing and picturesque, partly owing to the advantages of the site selected for the fabric. Perhaps the most picturesque view of the building is obtained from a point in Union Terrace, where the great western window, tower, and spire are partially revealed through the intervening foliage. The building is from a design from Mr. Archibald Simpson of this city, and deserves to be classed with the most successful specimens of his skill, genius, and taste. We understand the whole expense of the building [containing 3446 sittings in the three churches] will be under £5000. Considerations of economy suggested the employment of the least expensive materials, and the result has been a remarkable exemplification to how great account such means may be turned in the hands of professional talent."* It is only right to state that much of this success was due to Francis Edmond, Esq., advocate, who rendered valuable service, first in securing the site, and afterwards in carrying through the undertaking.

Thus, amidst the co-operation of many willing hands, hundreds of churches, in very various forms rose over the land. There were interesting days connected with the laying of the foundation-stones, and not less interesting scenes at the opening of the churches themselves. In the great majority of cases, winter had come before the buildings were ready. Of the incidents connected with the opening services, a few examples may be given.

The Free Church of Gatehouse (Girthon), was opened on the 8th December. "No doubt, many of the congregation called to mind the dying prayer of their late much-beloved pastor [Mr. Jeffrey], when he said, in reference to this building, 'Let

* Quoted in *Witness*, 28th August 1844.

the copestone be brought forth with shoutings, crying, Grace, grace, unto it!' . . . Every pew and passage was crowded to excess." *

At Torphichen, the Free Church was opened by Dr. Hetherington, on Sabbath the 6th August. It is seated for 400, but the day was fine, and soon after the door was opened the building was filled, there being within the walls nearly 500, and many were standing in the porch and round the doors. The meeting displayed not only the greatest regularity, earnestness, and order, but repeatedly manifested deep emotion when even a brief reference was made to the solemn circumstances of the event. †

"At the end of November, 1845, our new church [Ayr] was opened by the Rev. Dr. Brown, of Free St. John's, Glasgow; and the Rev. Dr. Candlish, of Free St. George's, Edinburgh. Our opening collection amounted to £300, then thought a large sum. The church cost £3300. In preaching for the last time in the wooden church, my text had been, 'If Thy presence go not with us, carry us not up hence.' I still remember the thrill of delight with which I heard Dr. Brown give out the first text in our new church—'My presence shall go with thee.' The people thought that Dr. Brown and I had arranged it thus. But it was not so. It was only the night before that Dr. Brown had learned what my text had been, and I did not know what his text was until I heard it from the pulpit." ‡

The feelings with which the people entered on the possession of their new churches were sometimes very openly shown. "We are all very anxious," one writes, 4th November, 1843, "at the thought of being two more Sundays in the barn. Last day some of the people were trembling with cold the whole time." Again, 23rd November—"We had a beautiful day last Sabbath for the opening—the roads hard and dry, the church packed full. I wish you could have seen the faces of the people, who are not great adepts at concealing their feelings, each looking as if the church was his own individual concern. . . . And oh!

* *Witness*, 14th December, 1844.
† *Witness*, 12th August, 1843.
‡ Disr. Mss. xli. p. 12, Rev. W. Grant.

the faces of some of them as they came out; they seemed to feel as if it were a subject beyond speaking about."

Of the minister's feelings in his opening services, we give a single example from the sermon of Dr. Candlish when entering his new church in the Lothian Road. "It was a grand Gospel sermon," says Mr. Maclagan, "very full of solemnity, and argument, and appeal. The roll of that musical voice is perhaps in the ear of others as it is in mine, when with these words, thrilling like a prophet's warning, he concluded: 'Such is our Gospel. We have considered, brethren, how best we might improve this occasion of the opening of our new house of prayer, and we have been led to take advantage of it for bringing before you, as God enabled us, a simple summary of the evangelical message in its connection with the sovereignty which it asserts on the one hand, and the submission which it requires on the other.

"'Nor does it seem necessary to add more than a single remark. Your presence in this sanctuary, and my occupying this chair of truth, pledge us mutually—you to hear, and me to proclaim this counsel of God. May the Lord give us grace to be faithful. Or, if ever the time shall be when you, or those who come after you to fill these seats, may refuse to hear this wholesome doctrine; or when I, or those who take my place in this pulpit, may shun to declare it, sooner may this fair and goodly structure crumble in the dust, and of all its ample walls not one stone be left upon another that shall not be cast down.'" *

But while men were thankful thus to enter their churches, yet there were sacred memories connected with many of those temporary places of worship which were fondly cherished, and in some cases they found touching expression in various forms.

Thus, at Kilsyth, Dr. Burns states: "Our people have a sweet recollection of the meetings we have had at the tent by the Garrel stream. The summer following we had one meeting

* History of St. George's, Edinburgh, p. 92.

there, on a warm Sabbath-day, as a pleasing renovation and reminiscence of those days gone by." *

With similar feelings, Mr. Maclagan refers to the memorable brick church in Castle Terrace, which Dr. Candlish and his congregation occupied at first as a temporary place of worship. "I cannot allow myself to part from the brick church without a few words. I know not how it may be with others among us who remember our services there, but to me its memories are inexpressibly solemn and tender. The Disruption, no doubt, was a quickening time in the highest and best sense, but it was also a time full of affecting associations and painful regrets. Both combined made the eighteen months of our brick-church worship very memorable. Its communions were singularly impressive occasions, and there are other days of bright and hallowed service which are quite unforgettable. It was at the July Communion of 1843 that Dr. Chalmers preached on the Sabbath evening from the text, 'The harvest is past, the summer is ended, and we are not saved' (Jer. viii. 20)—the sermon published in his works. It may be sentimentalism, or that tenderness with which as our years increase upon us we regard old times and places, but whatever may be its origin, I have a feeling of refreshing and revival as I look back upon the brick church. One of our poets has expressed the experience I refer to—

> "'There are in our existence spots of time
> That with distinct pre-eminence retain
> A renovating virtue.'" †

At Greenock, during the time that the Gaelic congregation were worshipping in the old dilapidated West Church, three communions were dispensed; "and solemn communion seasons they were, Mr. M'Bean (the pastor) often remarking to his friends, in the course of conversation, that he enjoyed much of his Master's presence on these occasions." ‡

Of the wooden churches, that which outlasted all others was the church at Monzie, erected at the expense of Mr. Campbell,

* Disr. Mss. xxix. p. 14.

† History of St. George's, Edinburgh, pp. 90, 91.

‡ Disruption Reminiscences, &c., p. 19.

then M.P. for Argyllsnire. Mr. Omond states: "It was more commodious than ornamental; but it was comfortable, and its acoustics were perfect. It was completed and taken possession of on the 27th August. It was replaced in 1868 by a permanent and more beautiful structure; but hallowed memories cluster round the old place—memories of a time when the Lord's goings were heard in that sanctuary, and when much blessing was experienced by many who have left the service on earth for the higher service above." *

One more illustration we take from a country parish in East Lothian, as described by Mr. Dodds, partly in prose and partly in verse. "I preached during the whole summer in Humbie Dean, from the tent that was erected every Sabbath morning. The spot where we met was a hollow in the steep bank, formed by the hand of nature, and overshadowed by tall trees. It was a secluded and romantic place, and most convenient for our purpose. Both the people and myself became much attached to it, and it is now famous in the parish of Humbie. †

"In that sweet spot, the summer long,
We met each Sabbath day.
* * * * *

"There, oft the father gave his child
In covenant to God,
And vowed to rear it in the paths
His faithful fathers trod.
God's grace be with the little babes
Who thus in faith have been
Baptised with water from the brook
In lovely Humbie Dean.

"And there one holy Sabbath day,
The blest Communion board
We spread in reverence and love—
The table of the Lord.
We brake the bread, and drank the wine,
And oh! what things unseen;
We saw so clear, and felt so near,
In lovely Humbie Dean.

* Disr. Mss., lxi. † Disr. Mss. xxxiii. pp. 3-5.

" Oh ! never let from me depart
The memory of that place,
Where on the worn and weary heart
Fell such sweet showers of grace.
And may we meet before the throne,
Our robes washed white and clean,
Who met as followers of the Lamb
In lovely Humbie Dean."

## IV. The Sustentation Fund.

The first step, then, had been successfully taken—the building of churches was provided for. But there was another demand, not less immediately urgent. Incomes must be found for the hundreds of ministers whose livings had been sacrificed, and religious ordinances must be supplied in answer to those appeals of the people, which came from every district, and almost from every parish in the land. To meet such an emergency as this it was evident that some special effort would be required.

The keen discussions of the voluntary controversy had so far prepared the way. There had been laid bare—as was believed—one point of weakness in the system of those Dissenting Churches, where each congregation was left, financially, to stand alone. In not a few weak and struggling churches there was much that was trying and painful to minister and people, while in poor and thinly-peopled districts, like those of the Highlands, Dissent had hardly been able to obtain a footing. Now the claim of the Free Church to be the true National Church of Scotland made it necessary to supply ordinances to her adherents all over the country, and nowhere more than in those Highland districts into which Dissent had hitherto been unable to penetrate.

It was to meet the demands of such an undertaking that the Sustentation Fund was instituted—a bold experiment, for which there was really no precedent anywhere in the history of the Christian Church, and which deserves special attention as constituting the peculiar and distinctive feature of Free Church finance. Under God it was due to the marvellous sagacity of Dr. Chalmers, from whose mind it came forth at the time of the Convo-

cation, elaborated and complete, down almost to its minutest detail.

The general idea of the scheme was, that for the purposes of this fund the whole Free Church should be combined into one great confederacy, where each congregation should do its part in sustaining the whole, and the whole should sustain each congregation. This grand principle of *share and share alike* was first announced by Dr. Candlish, in August, 1841, and it came well from his lips as minister of the wealthiest congregation in the Church. No less nobly was the same sentiment uttered by Dr. Chalmers: "It is well that the ministers of our most remote and destitute localities should know that they have the capability of the whole religious public of Scotland to count upon; nay, more, it were one of the most precious fruits of this arrangement, that the very oldest of our ministers, those venerable fathers who have borne the burden and heat of the day, perhaps unable to labour, yet unwilling and ashamed to remain in fellowship with a Church that has bowed the knee to an Erastian domination—it were indeed a heartfelt satisfaction to assure all such that they will not be forsaken by their brethren at large, but that, admitted to the highest place of honour in the Free and unfettered Church of Scotland, they, to the day of their death, will be made to participate equally and alike with them in the joint-offerings of her children." *

Such was the great principle, the corner-stone on which the Sustentation Fund was built. But it was obvious from the first that much would depend on the practical arrangements by which the scheme was carried out. With marvellous skill on the part of Dr. Chalmers, these were elaborated and adjusted so as to work in harmony with the general principles of our Presbyterian system. In every parish an association was to be formed, of collectors to go the round of the families month by month, or oftener, and to receive such contributions as were offered. These collectors were placed in connection with the deacons and other office-bearers of each congregation, under whose management the whole proceedings were to be conducted; and periodically the amount of these contributions was to be

* Assembly Proceedings, 1843, pp. 157, 158.

remitted to the great central treasury of the Church, out of which the ministers were each to receive an equal dividend.

If this had been all, however, it is obvious that an equal dividend would have been the most unequal of all arrangements—the expense of maintaining the social position of a minister in certain localities being so much greater than in others.

Along with the Sustentation Fund, therefore, there was conjoined another—the Congregational Fund—to enable the people in each parish, by collections or otherwise, to supplement the income of their own pastor according to their ability. By means of this twofold arrangement, scope was given for appealing to the most powerful motives, for in contributing to the General Sustentation Fund, men would be acting from the pure and high principle of looking not on their own things but on the things of others—the generous feeling that they were standing side by side with their poorer brethren, in providing the ordinances of the Gospel throughout the most remote localities in the land. On the other hand, in contributing to the Congregational Fund, men were acting under the motive to which the Apostle appeals—"Let him that is taught in the word communicate to him that teacheth," &c. The home feeling of affectionate personal regard for their own pastor,—the satisfaction of ministering in carnal things to him who was ministering to them in things spiritual—would thus have free scope, and so these two funds were intended to act as combined forces, each strengthening the other in building up the Church, and fostering the interests of congregations in every separate locality.

Such was the general idea of the fund as announced beforehand. Then came the practical object, to which, with characteristic ardour, Dr. Chalmers directed his energies, the actual setting up and putting in motion of the machinery by which the fund was to be wrought.

First, there was a loud and earnest appeal for men to give their aid as collectors. "In ordinary times, and for ordinary objects, the management of religious appeals is entrusted to a few, and those who are specially invited or appointed to the task of collection go forth on the good errand, while others do not run because they have not been sent.

"It must be otherwise in a movement like ours. For a work so large, and entitled to the best exertions of all, we invite every man and every woman in whom is found willingness of mind and concern for the glory of the Redeemer's crown, to hold themselves appointed to this work, as if they had been personally selected and called by name."

Female help was specially invited. "Whether we look for a greater enthusiasm at the outset, or for patient, untiring duteous attention and assiduity afterwards, for devotedness of purpose and principle, followed up by diligent and ever-doing performance, it will be found in greatest readiness and perfection among the members of a female agency, who still, as in the purely apostolic times of Paul, are ready to give themselves up, like Phœbe of old, as servants of the Church; or like Priscilla, to be our helpers in Christ Jesus; or like Mary, to bestow much labour on us; or like Tryphena and Tryphosa, who laboured in the Lord; or Persis, who laboured much in the Lord." *

Then the spirit in which they were to go forth was laid down, two things being specially insisted on.

First, there must be earnest prayer. "We trust there has been amongst you much fervent and special prayer for a blessing on this effort, for guidance and direction to all who shall take part in it, and that you are in a state of preparedness for going forth on your holy duty, seeking that in you and by you the Lord may be glorified."

Then, special care must be taken to repress the spirit of controversy. "Cease, as we have already counselled you, from all debate. Let not your voice be heard in the streets. In the spirit of meekness let the object at which we aim be plainly, truly, firmly, but temperately stated. . . . Ours is a spiritual warfare, our weapons are spiritual also. We seek to establish no domination, to wage warfare with none around us; but our heart is set upon maintaining a testimony for God in the land." †

It was in this way that the work of the collectors must be done. But it was not enough to send forth these appeals and

* Memoirs of Dr. Chalmers, vol. iv. p. 557.

† Tenth Communication, p. 2.

instructions: Dr. Chalmers resolved to go before, and show the way.

Few who heard him can forget the scene when he stood on the platform of the first Free Assembly, and told of the progress which had been made. "The great obstacle," he said, "was the idea that the raising of so large a sum was an impossibility. By this thought some were paralysed, as it were, into despair. It was far easier practically to do the thing than to convince the people that the thing was practicable. The difficulty lay not in doing the work when begun, but wholly in getting it begun; not in the execution of its process after its commencement, but in overcoming the incredulity which stood as a barrier in the way of its commencement. . . . In order to overcome this in my own little sphere, and in a parish where eight-ninths of the aristocracy of the soil are against us, I did begin a little association—I mean the parish of Morningside. But we remained for six whole weeks in a state of single blessedness—we had not a single companion, but stood as a spectacle to be gazed at with a sort of gaping wonder till we actually felt our situation painful, and felt as if we stood on a pillory; but now that we have been followed by no less than 687 associations, our singularity, we begin to feel, sits rather gracefully upon us." He recounted the results of a few weeks operations, and declared —"Experience has already made it palpable, and is making it more and more so every day, that these associations will prove the sheet-anchor, as it were, of the financial prosperity of our Protesting Church. Their individual contributions may be small, but the aggregate produce of them all will come to a much mightier sum than you will arrive at by casting up all the donations which the rich throw into the treasury."

And then, rising from these details, he referred to the grand object of all such efforts. "You will recollect that though the application of the first portion of the fund goes towards—I will not say the support of the ejected ministers, but towards the upholding of the continuance of their services—yet, after that is secured, and after the maximum has been attained, the sums over and above contributed will go, not to the augmentation of ministerial income, but to the augmentation of ministerial

services—not to the increase of the salaries of the ministers, but to the increase of their numbers; and we shall not stop short, I trust, in our great and glorious enterprise till, in the language you have already heard, the light of the Gospel be carried to every cottage door within the limits of the Scottish territory. You are familiar with the liberal and large-hearted aspirations of John Knox, when he talked of a college for every great town, and a minister for every thousand of the population. I will not specify at present any limits to our ministerial charges, but there is an indefinite field of Christian usefulness before us, and we must not let down our exertions till the optimism of our condition as a Church is fully realised." *

With these noble aspirations the scheme of the Sustentation Fund was launched. One essential feature—referred to above—was the fixing of a maximum sum, which each minister should receive as an equal dividend. If the fund fell short, the dividend would be proportionally diminished to any extent; if the fund rose, the dividend should not rise beyond the fixed sum agreed on, and then the overflow would be applied to the extension of the Church.

At the meeting of the first Assembly, it was necessary to consider what this maximum amount should be, and on the 25th of May the question was taken up at a private meeting, from which reporters were excluded. The original idea which Dr. Chalmers had propounded at the Convocation in the previous November was, to fix the amount at £200 a-year. It was now pointed out, that if the outgoing ministers were to receive this sum it would greatly obstruct the advancement of the Church, by preventing the addition of new ministerial charges. On the other hand, there were some, chiefly among the laity, who advocated the larger amount in consideration of the sacrifices to which ministers had submitted, and in view of the fact, that in the great majority of rural parishes, the equal dividend would constitute the whole living. The result was, that the general interests of the Church and of the people prevailed, and the lower sum was fixed. One of the most distinguished laymen—Alexander Thomson, Esq. of Banchory, a

* Assembly Proceedings, 1843, pp. 52, 53.

member of Assembly—refers to the circumstance in his diary, and bears his testimony to "the noble conduct of the ministers in taking £150 rather than £200."*

In after-years the same spirit of self-denial was acted on. At first the understanding was, that the equal dividend thus fixed on must be reached before any extension should take place, and that only the overplus should be employed in adding to the number of ministerial charges. That, indeed, was the meaning of the arrangement. In practice, however, it was at once lost sight of. New congregations were constantly coming in considerable number, asking a place on the platform, certain to add new burdens and keep down the dividend; but none were so sure to vote for their reception as the ministers already dependent on the proceeds. For many a day, although the gross amount of the fund was steadily rising, no approximation was made to either of the sums which had been spoken of—the £150 or the £200.

For, indeed, the enterprise had at the outset great difficulties to contend with. There were many other clamant demands pressing on the people during those opening years, and a still greater obstacle was presented by the circumstance just referred to—the rapid multiplication of ministerial charges.

In the course of the first year the amount raised for the general fund was £61,000, but the ministers had increased to 583, and the stipend to each was only £105.

During the second year the sum had risen to £76,180, but the ministers were now 627, and the stipend was £122.

This was the process which, for a considerable number of years, went steadily forward. The fund was, on the whole, increasing, but the number of ministers increased also, and the ministerial income continued long to be far below what the Church desired to see.

There was, however, a still more serious question—could even this amount of success be relied on to continue in the future? Amid the fervour and excitement of Disruption times, men's hearts were opened, their contributions freely flowed, but as the years began to pass away, would not these sources of income

* Memoir, p. 288.

gradually dry up? It was no secret that this was what many of the adversaries of the Free Church confidently expected, and there were not a few of her own friends who were unduly apprehensive.

In combating such fears, Dr. Chalmers set himself from the very outset to proclaim the necessity of looking to "the power of littles," and to the steady working of associations, rather than to the generous donations of a few of the Church's wealthy members. "To rest the prosperity of the Church on powerful but momentary appeals, and not on regularly working associations, were as grievously impolitic as to build our calculations for the agriculture of a country on the brawling winter torrents which perform their fleet and noisy course in channels that soon run out, and are only known to have existed by the dry and deserted beds they have left behind them, instead of building our calculations and our hopes on those tiny but innumerable drops which fall in universal and fertilising showers on the thirsty ground that is beneath them." *

With this view, Dr. Chalmers, at so early a period, struck the key-note—a penny a-week from every family in Scotland. In the hearing of the Convocation, he referred to the case of a clerical friend from the Island of Skye, to whom it had seemed impossible that the inhabitants of a certain parish in that island could give any assistance whatever, and that they must be altogether helped from without in keeping up the Gospel ministry amongst them. "When I asked whether absolutely nothing could be looked for—no, not even at the rate of a penny a-week from each household, he at once admitted, that if I came down to such a nothing, such a *bagatelle* as this, it could be easily afforded. Now, it is by just a putting together of such bagatelles, that I arrive at my conclusion, and I therefore repeat, that as far as the means are concerned we could obtain, and it is the very least and lowest computation we should think of making—we could obtain, after the loss of all our endowments, the sum of £100,000 in the year for the support of a Christian ministry in Scotland, without sensible encroachment on the comfort of any, without as much as the feeling of a sacrifice." †

* Assembly Proceedings, 1843, p. 156.

† Memoirs of Dr. Chalmers, vol. iv. Appendix, p. 555.

In the first General Assembly he returned to the subject. "The success of the scheme would be the achievement of many men, each doing a small thing. We deal, it is true, in the magnificent prediction of a magnificent result, but it is the result of a summation—the summation of little efforts made everywhere, nowhere of a strength that is gigantic. We have many collectors; but, so far as I know, we have not a single giant among them, and hundreds of thousands of contributors, among whom we look for no other greatness than the moral greatness wherewith Christianity assimilates the men and women of all classes in society—from her who throws the widow's mite, to him who throws the costly gift into the Church's treasury. We count on no miracles, save those miracles of grace by which God makes a willing people in the day of His power, and through the operation of whose blessed Spirit it is that there are so many willing hearts as well as giving hands." *

Once more, at the Assembly of 1844, he reverted to this favourite theme, when dealing with some Highland ministers who had been pleading the poverty of their people as disabling them from contributing. "I am only sorry," he said, "when they were telling us of the inability of the people, that I did not put the question, whether *the practice of snuffing* was at all prevalent among them. Why, I believe that I could make out, by the Excise returns, that, in the Island of Islay alone, some £6000 a-year is spent on tobacco. The power of littles is wonderful. I began with *pennies*, I now come down to *pinches*, and say that, if we got but a tenth of the snuff used by Highlanders—every tenth pinch—it would enable us to support our whole ecclesiastical system in the Highlands. It is astonishing the power of infinitesimals. The mass of the planet Jupiter is made up of infinitesimals, and surely, after that, it is in the power of infinitesimals to make up a stipend for the minister of Ballahulish." †

Such was the truth which, in every varied form, Dr. Chalmers enforced and urged. The strength of the Sustentation Fund lay, not in the large contributions of the wealthy, but in the numerous

* Assembly Proceedings, 1843, p. 155.
† Assembly Proceedings, 1844, p. 253.

offerings of those in the middle and humbler ranks of life. It was on these that the safety and stability of the whole financial movement depended.

But, in connection with this, there was another and still more important truth—the springs of that liberality would be found to lie in the hearts and consciences of Christian men. Dr. R. Buchanan, into whose hands the management of the fund passed, and to whom it was so largely indebted, has said: "The dynamics of Church finance lie not in the physical force which silently backs the tax-gatherer's demand, but in the region of conscience alone. What the Church member shall give, or whether he shall give at all, is a question between himself and God—a question in which he may be advised and exhorted, but on which he may not, by any human force, be compelled. He to whom the offering is professedly brought, will not have it given grudgingly, or of necessity. It has, and can have, no acceptance with Him, save in so far as it is brought, not by constraint, but willingly. And hence the true secret of abiding success for any system of Church finance, however wisely planned, will be found chiefly and ultimately to depend on the Church's own practical efficiency in sustaining and cultivating the moral and spiritual life of its members. Superstition, indeed, may thrive and grow rich among an ignorant population; but in an intelligent community, true religion can obtain adequate support for its ordinances and institutions only in proportion as it is accomplishing its high end in the hearts and lives of men. If this greatest of all the factors out of which the result comes be not taken into account, no reliable calculation as to the efficiency of any system of Church finance can be made." *

The great truth thus strikingly expressed and confirmed by long experience was just what Dr. Chalmers had no less strikingly proclaimed at the outset. "The contributions," he says, "will rise or fall just with the rise or fall of personal Christianity among our people. It is to Him who toucheth and turneth the hearts of men whithersoever He will that we look for all our present and all our future sufficiency. . . . It is not to excitement, or novelty, or ingenious devices for raising money, or the

* Rev. Dr. Robert Buchanan. Finance of the Free Church, p. 92.

transient impression of oratory from a platform on the feelings of an assembled multitude, or even to the influx of liberality from abroad—it is not to any or all of these put together that we would confide either the solid progress or the ultimate settlement and completion of our Church in these lands; but, under God, we hope for all our prosperity in the calm and steady growth of Christian and devoted principle in the midst of our congregations. In other words, our immediate or—so palpable is it, that we had almost said—our whole dependence for the enlargement of our means is on the visitation and descent of God's own Spirit finding His way to human consciences, and making them alive to the urgencies and the claims of our great Home Mission, and to the sacred obligation, not of supporting our present ministrations alone, but of extending and carrying them forward among the perishing thousands of Scotland. This is alone the perennial fountain on which we reckon for all our abundance, which will only yield an overflow if fed by supplies of living water from the upper sanctuary—those supplies which are withheld from the vain and boastful confidence of man, and not given but to his humble and believing prayers." *

Into the details connected with the administration of the fund it is not for us here to enter. The spirit of generous self-denial, however, which showed itself among the members of the Church should not be forgotten, for nothing was more wonderful during those early years than the way in which all ranks, rich and poor, cast their gifts into the treasury. The few instances to which we here refer must be taken merely as common examples of the spirit which generally prevailed in the Church.

Dr. Guthrie writes from Edinburgh: "The people here, not excepting the folks of the Bow and Grassmarket, are in a very lively and resolute state. For example, Lord Medwyn's servant . . . came over to me last week with £2 for the service of the Church. I proposed that, instead of giving it away at present, I would, with her leave, put it in the bank, when she told me that I might do so if I chose, but, she added, 'I am laying by money at present in the savings bank for that

* Assembly Proceedings, 1844, p. 138.

very purpose.' Yesterday, a Highland woman, a namesake of our own, from the Braes of Lochaber, a member of my Church, and a servant in town, came with eight shillings for the service of the Church also, though I learned by cross-examination that she had her father in the Highlands to support. . . . I have no doubt, from the way that public feeling is rising and running, that our opponents will be astonished by-and-by."*

A collector in St. Luke's, Edinburgh, now a minister of the Free Church, states: "One day in my collecting rounds a servant woman offered me a pound note for the Sustentation Fund. I was rather unwilling to receive it, thinking it too much for one in her station. I therefore told her as much, but she pressed it upon me, saying, 'Take it. I believe it is for Christ and His cause.' Trifling as this incident may appear, it struck me forcibly."

"A lady, looking at her district, said, 'I fear I will rather need to *give* than *get*.' When her visits terminated, she returned, saying, 'I have not been in a house where I have not got at least a halfpenny a-week, and the persons who gave this mite would have been grieved if I had passed them over.'"†

The value of such gifts lay in the spirit of self-denial which they evinced—the spirit of the widow with her two mites, who gave "more than they all." It was not merely money hardly earned and given to the cause of Christ, but it implied the privation, in many cases, of what could ill be spared.

But it must not be thought that there was no self-denial among the rich. In ordinary circumstances there is not much of this. Rich men, for the most part, cast their gifts into God's treasury, and continue to surround themselves, as before, with the enjoyments of life, sitting as easily as ever in the midst of their comforts. But at the time of the Disruption there was a spirit of self-denial which went far beyond such limits.

The month before the event, it is stated in the "Eighth Monthly Communication," edited by Dr. Chalmers: "We know that in many instances measures of retrenchment in unnecessary expenditure are going forward, that nothing may be lacking in the House of the Lord."

* Memoir, vol. ii. p. 52. † Eighth Communication, p. 4.

Even at the Convocation he had announced: "Let me only, without giving names, tell of four specimens which have cast up within these few days. First, a thriving manufacturer, who is to stake £150 a-year on the moment when we are severed from endowments; then a gentleman of monied fortune, who undertakes in that event to furnish the maintenance of three clergymen and their families; then a widow, who, from the proceeds of her dowry and her own little fortune, dedicates £200 to the cause; and lastly, a master tradesman, who will let down his establishment to that of a journeyman or common mechanic, rather than that the Church, if abandoned by the State, should not be upheld, at least at the present extent of her efficiency and her means." *

When the Disruption actually took place, such anticipations were amply fulfilled. Mrs. Coutts, for example, who had recently succeeded to the liferent of a fortune of £30,000, found that her means, "though ampler than she had ever before possessed, seemed now more limited than ever, owing to her vastly more ample desires to extend her Christian benevolence. Being under the necessity, for the sake of her health, of changing her residence, she continued almost to grudge herself the small additional expense, when she thought of the hardships and sufferings uncomplainingly borne by a large number of the ministers of the Free Church." †

In Edinburgh society at the time, one heard on all sides of families whose style of living had been changed. Things of the kind could not be concealed. There were houses in which a footman was no longer kept, some who resided in the country drove a single horse instead of two, in other cases the carriage was given up. One well-known member of St. George's congregation sold her house in a fashionable street, and retired to a small residence in what was then the farthest boundary of the city to the west, exposing herself to the good-humoured banter of Lord Cockburn: 'Miss ——, what is this I hear! Is it true that you have sold that fine house and gone to live somewhere about half-way to Glasgow?"

"Two ladies of my own acquaintance," says Dr. Chalmers,

* Memoirs, vol. iv. p. 553. † Memoir, p. 411.

"the descendants of a noble family, have quitted their commodious and elegant house in the country, and come to reside in Edinburgh for the purpose of being enabled to devote a larger sum to the support of the Free Church of Scotland. Another lady called on me to consult me in regard to an income of £200 a-year, and the amount which she ought to spend of it, and she offered to board herself with, and give her whole income to, the family of one of the ejected ministers." *

These examples will show the spirit which prevailed. There came, indeed, to be a strange kind of ingenuity among all ranks, in devising expedients by which they might be enabled to increase their contributions, as if to show that where there is a will there is a way.

"We know of one instance of a merchant in the West of Scotland, who has set apart a portion of his capital with which to trade on behalf of the Free Church. All that that portion of his capital realises he intends to cast into the General Sustentation Fund." †

Captain Shepherd, of Kirkville, Aberdeenshire, recommended that in all families in the Free Church, every child should be "entered as a member of the association as soon as it was entered on the baptismal register. That was the plan he had adopted, and he hoped his brethren in the eldership would adopt it also." ‡

In the family of a baronet, well known in the religious world, the children took their own way of contributing, giving up the use of sugar, that the cost of it might be added to the Sustentation Fund.

Sometimes the matter took rather amusing forms. In the Island of Arran, there was a well-known lady, who, at the time of the Disruption, resided with her father and brother, both decided supporters of the Establishment. She was equally decided in favour of the Free Church, and having no money of her own, she resolved, as the only thing she could do, to give up her snuff, and pay what it cost to the Sustentation Fund. Even in the best of people, however, human nature will assert itself,

* Sixth Communication, p. 1.
† Monthly Statement, March, 1844, p. 3.
‡ Assembly Proceedings, 1846, p. 100.

and the privation had, unfortunately, such an effect on her temper, that her father and brother besought her to resume her snuff, and they would most gladly pay the equivalent into the fund. After the death of her relatives, she had considerable means. "The worthy and pious lady, for such she was, is now where no such acts of self-denial are required," *

"A poor man gave sixpence to the collector of his district, who said to him, 'This is too much, as I am going to come back.' The man thought for a moment, and his face brightened. 'I have it,' said he; so, taking back the sixpence, he gave twopence, saying, 'You shall get this every week.' 'But is not this still too much?' said the conscientious collector. 'No,' said the Christian contributor; 'I have been giving twopence a-week to the barber for shaving me, and now I'll shave myself.'" †

Stories of this kind may seem trivial, but none can fail to realise the real spirit of earnestness which lay underneath all such peculiarities.

"A young woman, who maintains herself by sewing in families, gave £1, and said that as long as she could thread a needle she would contribute this sum." ‡

In a parish near the southern borders of Scotland, there was a poor widow, who had two children to support, and to do this mainly by her own industry, as only the merest pittance was allowed her by the heritors. The third week after the collections began she called on the collector, who had previously passed her door, and said, "Why did you not come to me?" "I thought you so poor, we had more need to collect for than to take from you." "It is the first time, though, that my Master ever made such a demand on me, and He must not be gainsaid, nor me denied the pleasure of doing any little I can for Him. There are my three weeks' contributions—we'll trust Him for the time coming."

It was while this spirit prevailed among all classes of adherents that the Sustentation Fund was commenced, and it was left for the collectors to sustain and foster it while gathering in the fruits. They must be prepared, however, as Dr. Chalmers

* Communicated by Rev. D. Landsborough, Kilmarnock.
† Eighth Communication, p. 4. ‡ *Ibid.*

warned them, to encounter difficulties. Referring to his own particular parish at Morningside, Edinburgh—"We began operations," he says, "amidst a perfect storm of opposition from the higher ranks. . . . I was not previously aware—indeed I had no idea at all—that we should have had to encounter such a storm, but the collectors persevered, and we are now receiving at the rate of £6, 14s. a-week."

If opposition came in the form of scornful reproach, the collectors were urged to bear in mind that the fund was no mere provision for the ejected ministers, but a great Church extension movement, for the benefit of the community at large. "One could plead and hold up his face unabashed for such a design in any company, and before any assemblage. It might be stigmatised by our enemies as a beggarly expedition for a beggarly purpose. It will be no such thing. It will be a high errand of religious philanthropy, an enlarged and liberal scheme of Church extension, carried forward by periodical, vigorous, and heart-stirring appeals in behalf of a great object of Christian patriotism." *

All this, however, did not prevent such reproaches overtaking the collectors in due time; and though few could reply to them in language like that of Dr. Chalmers, yet the common people, in their own homely way, could sometimes deal with the adversaries effectively enough. By way of contrast, a single example may be given. "A godly, aged man, who was a catechist in a neighbouring parish, being jeered by a worldly rich sheep-farmer, a Moderate, saying, 'You of the Free Church are a set of beggars,' referring to our having few rich folk among us, and also to our collections. The honest man replied, 'Well, be it so; we read that at death the beggar went to heaven, but the rich man to hell.' The sheep-farmer said no more." †

Meanwhile, amidst difficulties on the one hand, and encouragements on the other, the scheme was carried forward; but it is no part of our design to trace here the history of its progress. As time went on, modifications were suggested, and to some extent adopted; yet to this day the Sustentation Fund pre-

* Assembly Proceedings, 1843, p. 157.

† Disr. Mss. xx. p. 10.

serves its original character, and moves along the lines which were at first laid down. Without going into details, the general results may be briefly stated:—

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| During the first ten years, the annual income averaged | | | | £84,057 |
| „ | second | „ | „ | „ 108,643 |
| „ | third | „ | „ | „ 130,246 |
| For the two years since completed, the average is | | | | . 157,904 |

The supplements given by congregations have gone on increasing at a similar ratio.

It should be added that there is a surplus Sustentation Fund, out of which a very considerable proportion of the ministers have had their allowances largely augmented.

The number of ordained ministers, which at the Disruption was 470, is now upwards of 1000.

Such figures may give some idea of the progress of the fund, and of what it has done for that Church-extension movement of which Dr. Chalmers was the recognised leader and head. Its real value, however, is not to be measured by statistical tables.

It is the Sustentation Fund which has enabled the Church to supply religious ordinances in many a Highland and Lowland parish where the poverty of the people would have made it difficult, if not impossible, to maintain a Gospel ministry.

It is the Sustentation Fund which has enabled the Church to plant amidst the wynds and closes of our large cities so many of those ministerial charges which have been crowned with signal success in carrying the message of mercy to the most degraded portions of the population.

Beneficial results such as these might well be enough to recommend the system. But there are other advantages which should not be overlooked. It has consolidated the Church, drawing closer the bonds of brotherhood, making each minister feel that, however remote or obscure the locality in which he labours, he is not only the minister of his own congregation, but a minister of the whole Free Church which he represents, and in which all his brethren are identified with him, sustaining and strengthening his hands.

And added to this, there were indirect benefits, of no small importance, among the people. The Sustentation Fund has

drawn into closer fellowship the different ranks of society, and fostered Christian intercourse among the members of the same congregation. "More than once," in St. David's, Glasgow, for example, "the remark has been made to collectors as they went their rounds, 'Is it not strange that money, which is so often the source of division among friends, should prove among us a bond of love and union.'" * This had been fully anticipated. "You will be delighted," said Dr. Chalmers, "with the discoveries of kindly feeling you will meet with in the most wretched districts. I have always felt that if the people were rightly addressed, there would be a response from them of which we have no imagination. . . . The thing that delights me in the working of this system is, that it brings the various classes of the community into more near converse and companionship with each other, and with those above them, and calls forth the same sympathies, the same neighbour-like feelings, the same play of kind and generous affections." †

In view of all this, the Free Church has surely good reason to give thanks for the institution of this great central Sustentation Fund; and still more for the fact that, after the lapse of thirty years, it not only holds its ground, but gives increasing indications of stability and success.

* Disr. Mss. i. p. 7. † Sixth Communication, p. 3.

## V. The Schools.

One thing done by the Free Church at the time of the Disruption must now be admitted to have conferred signal benefits on the people of Scotland—the setting up of her elementary schools. In this, however, as in various other parts of her work, her course was decided by the conduct of others rather than by any preconceived purpose of her own. The circumstances in which she was placed compelled her to do what she did.

The way, indeed, had been well prepared. The men of the Disruption were strongly attached to the cause of scriptural education. All along, the Scottish Church has been the great promoter and guardian of the education of the people. Under Knox and Melville she fought against the selfishness of the Court on behalf of the parochial schools. The battle was long and hard; and when the real history of Scottish education comes to be written, it will be found that in many districts Acts of Parliament were of little weight with the heritors, and it was only in the face of their opposition or neglect that the establishment of schools was carried out by the parochial clergy. In more recent times, great efforts had been made to increase the means of instruction, Dr. Welsh, in Edinburgh, and Mr. Stow, in Glasgow, being especially conspicuous for the part which they took in setting up the Normal schools. In a similar way, many of the outgoing ministers had, at great trouble and expense, engaged in the work of education, attaching to the Establishment the schools which they had erected; and what is said of Mr. Andrew Gray, of Perth, applies to many of his brethren: "Of all the losses he had to sustain, what he felt perhaps most keenly was the loss of his schools. They might well be called *his* schools—their erection being due to his

untiring energy and zeal, aided by a noble coadjutor, his warm friend, Mr. Stewart Imrie, one of the most generous and large-hearted supporters of every good cause that Perth ever numbered among her citizens. These schools had to be let go out of his hands in 1843." *

Even if nothing had occurred to decide the course of the Church, there were strong reasons to induce such zealous educationists to continue their efforts after the Disruption as they had done before. The importance of religious education—the training of the young for Christ—was still as great. It was still as essential a part of Home-Mission work, to be fostered and cherished alongside the preaching of the Gospel.

Added to this, there was a special inducement which might well have weighed with every patriotic Scotsman—the manifest deficiency in the amount of education then existing in the country. The parish schools had been stereotyped for generations, while the population had increased twice or threefold. In 1834 it was found, as the result of careful inquiry, that Scotland, as compared with other countries, stood low in the scale of school attendance. At the time when the Free Church Education Scheme was set up there were good grounds for believing that more than 200,000 Scottish children, who ought to have been at school, were growing up without the reality, and most of them without the semblance of education.

All this, however, would probably have failed to move the Church. Her hands, it might well have seemed, were already only too full of work that was indispensable—building churches, planting congregations, and sustaining ministers and missionaries. Whatever individual ministers might have thought, the Church as a whole would probably have been inclined to leave the question as to education in abeyance for the time.

But the conduct of the Establishment and its friends decided the matter. There was no alternative.

The first hint of the new movement came from Dr. Chalmers at Tanfield, two days after the Disruption. His statement deserves attention, as explaining how the education scheme of the Free Church took its rise. "I am aware, and you may

* Memoir of Rev. A. Gray, p. lxvi.

have heard of some instances in which, not parish teachers [these required more time], but private teachers, and most efficient teachers besides, have been dismissed from their employment, and turned adrift with their families on the wide world, for no other reason than that they approve of our principles. Such cases, I think, fairly come within our cognisance, and we must provide for them. We can get teaching for schoolmasters." *

This was followed, three days afterwards, by the statement of Dr. Welsh. "Schools to a certain extent must be opened to afford a suitable sphere of occupation for parochial, and still more for private teachers of schools, who are threatened with deprivation of their present office on account of their opinions upon the Church question. Such individuals should be invited instantly to give in their names to the Church, and provision should at once be made for their employment. Instances of tyranny, in some cases unmanly, and in all unworthy, threats of expulsion from their situations, of withdrawing small endowments, of taking away scholars supported by donations, have been brought under the notice of the Committee. They are the more deserving of attention on this account, that we have not only the case of cruelly injured teachers, but still more, perhaps, of the children who are to be put into different hands." †

It may be right to give some examples, showing how well founded such statements were. At Fairlie, near Largs, it is said: "The schoolhouse, which was claimed and taken possession of by Lord Glasgow on the feasible ground of the want of a lease, was built at the entire expense of Mr. Tennant, of Wellpark, and the late Mr. Parker [both members of the Free Church], at a cost of little less than £200, with the exception of some unwrought wood from the Kelburn estate." Mr. Pinkerton, the teacher, had joined the Free Church, and was at once warned to quit his schoolhouse and dwelling, "by Saturday first"—*i.e.*, in five days. But as he had a written agreement as teacher, requiring six months' warning before his dismissal, and as he paid a nominal rent for his dwelling-house, his lordship found that he could not carry this order into execution.

* Assembly Proceedings, 1843, p. 54. † *Ibid.* p. 125.

Accordingly, he gave his consent—with what grace the reader may judge—to the school continuing "under the charge of Mr. Pinkerton, the present teacher, for the next six months, and subject as hitherto to the direction of Mr. Tennant." "I did so," he says, "as a matter of necessity, after seeing the agreement with Mr. Pinkerton, which entitles him to six months' notice of an intention of removing him, and requires him to give three months' notice of a wish to retire. If no such agreement had existed, I should have proceeded immediately to appoint another schoolmaster." *

The Duke of Sutherland was equally decided. "My parish," said Mr. Carment, of Rosskeen, "is a very extensive one, and I got erected in it two schools, one of which was put up chiefly at my own expense. Last year [1844] a summons of removal was served by the Duke of Sutherland to the schoolmaster, and another schoolmaster put into the school, erected principally by my money." †

In this way the lay friends of the Establishment signalised their zeal; but the ministers were not less energetic. Every teacher adhering to the Free Church who could by any means be reached was relentlessly assailed. In the parish of Campbeltown, for example, the educational staff was composed of nineteen male and female teachers, of public and private schools. "The process of ejection on the part of the Establishment of all the teachers who were under their control in any respect, and of some who were presumed to be under their jurisdiction, has been unsparingly executed. Nevertheless, this ruthless crusade against the faithful teachers has certainly not increased, either morally or physically, its shattered ranks." ‡

And as at Campbeltown, so elsewhere in Scotland, no mercy was shown. Seventy-seven of those who held parish schools, sixty Assembly-school teachers, and seventy-five belonging to the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, were expelled for no other reason than holding Free Church principles. Among others, the staff of the two Normal Schools in Edinburgh and Glasgow were ejected—the rectors, teachers, students, and pupils going over *en masse*. When the General Assembly met

* Discourse, &c., by the Rev. J. Gemmel, 1844. Appendix.
† Assembly Proceedings, 1845, p. 77. ‡ *Witness*, 1st March, 1845.

at Glasgow it was reported that 196 teachers of *private schools* had been cast out. In various parts of the country, indignation meetings, as they were called, were held, to protest against this treatment of men whom all classes of the community regarded with respect. But the ministers of the Establishment were remorseless, and the work of expulsion went bravely forward till nearly 400 of the best teachers in Scotland were sacrificed. And this was done by those who all the time were crying aloud in the ears of the country, that there was no difference between the two Churches.

Teachers thus cast out could not be treated with neglect by the Church to which they adhered. The Free Church was compelled, by the Establishment itself, to find employment for these men, and so to set up that Educational Scheme, the power of which was soon to be felt in the remotest corners of the land.

Assuredly it was in no half-hearted way that the cause was prosecuted. Mr. Lewis, of Leith, five months after the Disruption, gave in a report to the Glasgow Assembly, in which he paid a high tribute to those who had made the sacrifice. "Having repeatedly adverted to the state of our ejected teachers, we cannot close our report without rendering our humble passing tribute of admiration to the men who have so nobly witnessed for the truth, in the certain prospect of being thrown on the wide world for a provision for themselves and families. We speak not to depreciate the testimony borne by our fathers and brethren of this Assembly, or that which has so recently given new occasion for thanksgiving and many prayers—the testimony from the banks of the Ganges; but, faithful as these have been, we can discover an element that gives even a purer character to that lifted up by the teachers of Scotland, in their comparatively more obscure and humble walk of life. There was no visible necessity laid upon them as upon us to take up self-denied testimony. They were not publicly committed. Their refusal of the testimony would not have been dishonour and apostasy. They had few or none of those advantages of mutual conference by which one man strengthens the heart of another, and which we so largely enjoyed. It was a question resolved between God and their own consciences, decided by each man apart in the

communings of his heart with the Word of truth, and in prospect of his final accountability to the God that gave it. Theirs has been a testimony proceeding from faith unfeigned, and from a pure heart fervently." *

And what then—if these were the feelings of the Church—what was to be done? At this point a youthful minister stepped forward to take up the cause, in a way which even yet, as we look back on it, may well be regarded with astonishment. Introduced by the convener, Mr. Macdonald, of Blairgowrie (now Dr. Macdonald, of North Leith), ascended the platform and laid his proposals before a crowded evening meeting of the Assembly. His idea was to go forth immediately and raise £50,000 for building 500 schools. It should be remembered that men at the time were laboriously striving to raise funds for church building, and the sustentation of the ministry. Every nerve, as it seemed, had already been strained to the uttermost, and it is not surprising that when men heard Mr. Macdonald's announcement, they, in the first instance, listened with wonder. But he had his plan ready, and with the utmost earnestness, it was laid before the House. He would himself go forth over all Scotland, and hoped to find subscribers enough to fill up the scale of contributions. The proposal was in these terms :—

"Scheme for raising £50,000 to aid in the erection of 500 schools for the Free Church of Scotland. Each school to be aided to the extent of £100.

PLAN OF CONTRIBUTION.

| | |
|---|---|
| 500 persons giving 1s. to each of 500 schools yields being £25 individual contributions. | £12,500 |
| 1000 persons giving 6d. to each of 500 schools yields being £12, 10s. individual contributions. | 12,500 |
| 2000 persons giving 3d. to each of 500 schools yields being £6, 5s. individual contributions. | 12,500 |
| 6000 persons giving 1d. to each of 500 schools yields being £2, 1s. 8d. individual contributions. | 12,500 |
| 9500 persons giving at the above rates yields . . | £50,000" |

* Assembly Proceedings, Glasgow, 1843, p. 81.

Such were the details, and as he went on to advocate the scheme with all the ardour of youthful enthusiasm, the Assembly was fairly carried away. The approval of the plan was moved by Mr. Thomson, of Banchory, seconded by Dr. M'Farlan, of Greenock, agreed to by acclamation, recommended to the people of the Free Church, and Mr. Macdonald commissioned to go forth on his chosen work. Three days afterwards, Dr. Welsh wrote in the following terms:—"Edinburgh, 23rd October, 1843.—My dear Sir,—The more I reflect upon your plan, the more admirable it appears; and now that you have got the deliverance of the General Assembly in its favour, it requires only diligence and perseverence in the working to ensure success. It could not be in better hands than yours, and I sincerely hope that the members of our Church and the friends of education generally to whom you may apply, will do everything to facilitate your labours.—I am, with much esteem, my dear Sir, yours very sincerely, DAVID WELSH."

In this way the fund was commenced, but the reader will be best pleased to have the history of the movement as given in notes contributed by the members of Dr. Macdonald's family.

"Immediately after the close of that Assembly, Mr. Macdonald made arrangements for proceeding, without delay, to carry out his scheme. In the earliest notices received, and before the full amount subscribed in many of the places visited by him could be ascertained, we find in the east, for example, that Edinburgh subscribed £7000; Leith £1125; Musselburgh, £180; Newhaven, £300; Ormiston, £200; Prestonpans, £283; Cockpen, £260; Dirleton, £300; Haddington, £530; Gifford, £150; Prestonkirk, £371; while, farther south, such places as Dunse, Kelso, Jedburgh, and Hawick were visited, and subscribed liberally. Proceeding northward, we find St. Andrews subscribing £600; Cupar-Fife, £400; Perth, £1400; Dundee, £2700; Arbroath, £1100; Montrose, £900; and following Mr. Macdonald in his laborious journey, we find him writing from Aberdeen: 'My first meeting in Aberdeen is to be on Monday evening, at seven o'clock. On Wednesday I proceed to Peterhead, to hold a meeting there. I come back to hold a

second meeting in Aberdeen on Friday, and on Saturday I journey northward to Inverness, where, God willing, I intend preaching on the Sabbath. Ask strength for body and soul. Ask for the Spirit's presence and power in every meeting, and ask for the full completion of the present work; and to all your asking join thanksgiving for the innumerable mércies we are daily receiving. I am often astonished at the kind and Christian hospitality I have uniformly received. I have never yet, I think, been one night in an inn.' The above extract from a letter, written at a time when very few railways were available even in the centre of Scotland, and none at all in the North, may serve to indicate the arduous nature of Mr. Macdonald's labour in prosecuting his great scheme, and also to reveal the secret of his powers of endurance and of his wonderful success. In every place that he visited he first preached, and then expounded the plan by which he expected to raise so much money for schools; and, where the district admitted of it, he sometimes preached and explained his scheme at meetings held each day, for five or six days in succession! Proceeding to the far North, we find Inverness subscribing £1000; Tain, £500; Wick, £775; Thurso, £503; and, in like proportion, such places as Elgin, Banff, and Peterhead. In the West, Glasgow subscribed with its usual munificence, although the writer is unable to state the amount. Paisley, about £1300; Port-Glasgow, £400; Dumbarton and neighbourhood, £600; Rothesay, £1000; Ayr, £800. Kilmarnock, Maybole, Irvine, Dunoon, and such places, also subscribing with corresponding liberality."

"The correspondent quoted at the beginning of these notes, relative to this scheme, writes: 'Little did we dream, when first hearing from Mr. Macdonald from Glasgow detached accounts of a scheme for providing schools, that it would ultimately grow to such formidable dimensions, and involve so much personal labour and lengthened absence from his family and congregation. But so it was; nor do we grudge it, although now we feel as if, in after-life, it had told somewhat heavily on his constitution. It was a good work, and God was graciously pleased to mark His approval of it, for in no other way can we account for the almost marvellous success that attended his continued exertions.

Often did we smile when, on reading his letters, such passages would occur—'I have had the pleasure of meeting with Mr. ——. He is a delightful man. By the by, he has subscribed to my school scheme.' Indeed, we began to find that that was almost an infallible test of the real worth of his many friends!

"He used to tell us of an amusing incident connected with his visit to Manchester. The meeting had been all arranged, and the night fixed, but, unfortunately, it turned out wet and stormy, so that it was feared there would be but a thin gathering. However, the hour arrived, and the audience had taken their seats, when, alas! the gas entirely failed, and all seemed doomed to disappointment. What was to be done? Light must be had; so, making the best of what they could, candles were brought in. Two were placed on each side of the speaker, and from the midst of such illumination he proceeded to address the meeting. Dark and discouraging as was the prospect, you may imagine his delight when, at the close of the meeting, £500 was got. At Liverpool he had a very large and enthusiastic meeting, and at the close of it £1000 was subscribed.

"Thinking that he might be able to advance his scheme by a visit to London, he proceeded thither. A few days after his arrival he found that a large and influential deputation had come from Scotland for the purpose of interesting the people in the Free Church struggle, and, if possible, securing pecuniary help. They were therefore by no means greatly pleased that he should come as an interloper with his scheme while they were advocating theirs, both by holding public meetings and making private appeals. In deference to them, therefore, he did nothing, and thus nearly a fortnight of his valuable time was lost, and he felt quite disheartened. At length, however, he was informed that the deputation were to hold a public meeting in Regent Square Church, and that he being in London, they would give him, as a personal favour, the last half-hour in which he might plead his own scheme. Limited as such an arrangement was, he was thankful to get even this brief opportunity, and waited with no small impatience until the several speakers should be done; but alas! this consummation seemed a far way off. The first gentleman spoke for about an hour, the second nearly as long, and

knowing that a London audience rarely stayed longer that ten o'clock, he sighed as a third speaker rose, and he not the last of their number.

"The platform on which they were seated had been raised very considerably, so that those in the gallery might hear better, and a kind of ladder-stair at the back gave access to it. Mr. Macdonald, who was sitting behind, quietly rose, slipped down the steps, and gained the vestry. There he earnestly prayed that God might so influence the minds of the speakers that they might be short, and that there might yet be time for his unfolding his scheme. After thus committing it to the Lord, he quite unobservedly resumed his seat, and you may imagine his feelings when the speaker unexpectedly closed, and, turning round to him, said, 'Now, I have just been short for your sake!' Oh! the goodness of the Lord; how wonderfully He can and does answer prayer! The last speaker was also brief, and Mr. Macdonald was just about to begin, when the assembly simultaneously arose, and began to leave their seats.

"This was an unforeseen trial; but Mr. Patrick Shaw Stewart, M.P. for Renfrewshire, who was in the chair, kindly came to the rescue. Rising up, he said: 'I wish very much that you would wait a little longer. There is a young friend here from Scotland with some very ingenious plan for getting schools, and I should like much to hear him. Would you do me the favour of remaining a little while.' Thus appealed to, the audience resumed their seats; and Mr. Macdonald, lifting up his heart to God for help, began his tale, putting forth all his powers to make the best of his short but golden opportunity. Facts, anecdotes, appeals were all used to gain the desired end, and at the close, when subscription papers were handed round, the sum amounted to between £800 and £1000. It was subsequently increased to £1400. At first the deputation were not altogether pleased that the lion's share had fallen to the schools, but in the end they heartily rejoiced in the result."

"No wonder though, as remarked by the writer of the passage just quoted, the labour involved in Mr. Macdonald's prosecution of his scheme had in after-life told somewhat heavily on his constitution. This journey to England, and the

long and arduous journeys in Scotland, accomplished by him between October, 1843, and May, 1844, were fitted to try very severely the constitution of even so young a man, as he was at this time, and of a much stronger man than he ever was. *Apropos* of his youth, an amusing exhibition of incredulity as to his identity, owing to his youthful appearance, occurred on one of his journeys in the far North. Returning from Wick, he and other two male passengers were inside the stage-coach, when one of the two, addressing Mr. Macdonald, remarked: 'I understand that this Mr. Macdonald, who is raising so much money for building schools, was in Wick last night. I wonder if he had a good meeting.' 'Oh, yes,' was the reply, 'it was a very good meeting, and upwards of £700 was subscribed.' 'That,' said the passenger who had not yet spoken, 'that is Mr. Macdonald whom you are now speaking to.' But the inquirer about the preceding night's meeting was not to be so imposed upon; and scrutinisingly surveying Mr. Macdonald from head to foot, he exclaimed, with a leer of incredulity, 'Na, na; his *faither* might be the man, but that's no him.'

"As the month of May approached, Mr. Macdonald had made such progress that he felt certain of the complete attainment of his object before the meeting of the General Assembly. Early in May, 1844, he wrote from Hamilton as follows:—'The various reports of what has been done between last May and this May will be truly wonderful. Never, I suppose, in the history of the Church was so much done in one year—so many churches built, so many ministers sustained, such large missionary operations carried on, and such a large sum subscribed for schools. The success, indeed, is so wonderful that scarcely any one, unless wilfully blind, can fail to see the hand of God in it all.'

"At the Assembly which met in Edinburgh in 1844, and on the evening of the 28th of May, a truly noble and astonishing result was announced by Mr. Macdonald. There were, it appeared, many important places which he had not been able, during the few months since last October, to visit, and some reports having not yet come in, he could not state exactly what

had been subscribed; but he could certainly state that it was upwards of £52,000! And excepting £3000 subscribed in England, and mainly by Scotch Presbyterians, the whole amount had been subscribed by those very people who had already contributed with such unbounded liberality for the building of churches and sustaining a Gospel ministry both at home and abroad. . . .

"Dr. Candlish said 'that he could not but express the feeling which he entertained towards his friend, Mr. Macdonald, in reference to the matter which had that evening been before them. He has opened the springs of faith in the Divine promises among a large class of our people, and it were inexcusable in us to omit acknowledging the good hand of God in the success with which he had begun, carried on, and completed in faith this good work.' As convener of another committee, Dr. Candlish further said: 'We are deeply indebted to the labours of Mr. Macdonald, not only in reference to the scheme he has been the instrument of promoting, but for the great aid he has given us in preaching the Gospel, and administering ordinances in various parts of the country. In the present scarcity of ministerial labourers, and in the demand which exists for the preaching of the Gospel wherever he has arrived, he has not only made his appeal to the pockets of the people, but has filled their souls with the bread of life.' 'I have thought it was a providential thing that Mr. Macdonald was led to devise such a scheme as that which has occupied his attention, seeing it has been the cause of so much spiritual good throughout those parts of Scotland that he has visited.' . . .

"The Moderator, Dr. Henry Grey, then returned thanks to Mr. Macdonald. 'The scheme,' said Dr. Grey, 'was indeed an admirable one—simple in its means, sublime in its object, and I congratulate you on your success. In the other Christian enterprises of our Church many heads have combined their counsels, many hands have co-operated, many agents have been employed, and the Church in all its congregations has exerted its efforts. Your scheme originated with yourself; you have been the contriver, the counseller, the agent, the accomplisher of it. No doubt you have received hearty sympathy and much

valuable help; but you have won these for yourself, and to *you*, therefore, our thanks are due. And we have the purer pleasure in giving them that we know you will unite with us in rendering thanks supremely to Him from whom all good flows; who taught you to conceive, and enabled you to perform, the honourable service you have accomplished.' The Moderator concluded by requesting Mr. Macdonald to convey to his flock the thanks of the Assembly for the patience and generosity they had shown by so cheerfully acquiescing in his long and necessary absence.

"At the close of Mr. Macdonald's speech, in which he presented such an amazingly gratifying report to the Assembly, and just as he resumed his seat, a note was put into his hand, containing the peculiarly interesting announcement to himself of the birth of his eldest daughter on the preceding day. The young lady who was thus introduced to her father's notice for the first time is now the wife of Dr. Grainger Stewart, the well-known and accomplished Professor of the Practice of Physic in the University of Edinburgh.

"One of the most gratifying results of Mr. Macdonald's recent visit to so many parts of Scotland was the impressively interesting evidence thereby afforded that the people of Scotland not only sympathised with, and were resolved to stand by and support, ministers and teachers adhering to Free Church principles, and ejected from their livings for conscience' sake, but also desired with heartfelt anxiety the preaching of the Gospel to themselves and a Christian education for their young. The response to Mr. Macdonald's appeals, it will be observed, was alike hearty and liberal, whether in the north, the south, the east, or the west. He was never allowed to lodge a single night in an inn, and at a very early stage of his labours he observed with peculiar satisfaction that at the *first* meeting in *every* place yet visited by him the amount subscribed had never been less than £100; and this interesting fact he did not fail to refer to as a stimulus in places subsequently visited, the final result being, that not even in Shetland was less than £100 subscribed at the first meeting." *

* Disr. Mss. lv.

This remarkable movement, welcomed as it thus was, and crowned with such success, sufficiently proved that the Church was in earnest in the work of education; but not less is this seen when we look to the character of the men into whose hands the management of the scheme was entrusted. At first Mr. Lewis, of Leith (afterwards Dr. Lewis, of Rome) held the convenership. Then, for a short time, it was entrusted to Dr. Cunningham, and subsequently, in 1846, it was put into the hands of Dr. Candlish, under whom the work finally took shape. For many years the writer sat with him in this committee and its sub-committees. There is no need that he should say anything as to the powerful influence of the Convener, and the rare administrative talent which was brought to bear in furtherance of the work; but he may be allowed to give his testimony to the amount of labour and anxious thought expended on it by Dr. Candlish to an extent far beyond anything that the Church in general was aware of.

Under such guidance it was not long till the educational movement began to be rapidly developed, giving proof—if that had been needful—of how great the demand for additional means of instruction was in the country. In May, 1845, 280 schools were already in operation, but within two years they had risen to 513, having upwards of 44,000 scholars in attendance. In addition to these, there were 137 schools which, though not on the funds of the committee, were really Free Church schools, and the estimate was, that, including the whole number, the scholars in attendance would compare favourably with the attendance at the whole parochial schools of Scotland. "The committee dwell on this result not in a spirit of boasting or exultation, but rather for the purpose of impressing on the Free Church a sense of her deep responsibility to God and the rising generation. She has a price given into her hands to buy wisdom. She has a precious opportunity in God's providence, and the Lord is making it manifest that the people of the land are not slow to answer any efforts that she may make. The committee press this consideration—viz., that already the number of children in attendance at the Free Church of Scotland's schools may be regarded as equal in number to

the attendance on the whole parochial schools of Scotland together."*

In regard to the teachers to whom these schools were at first entrusted, it must be said that, as a class, they were men of no common eminence in their profession. Making full allowance for individual cases, and speaking only of the general result, there were good grounds for the statement made by Dr. Candlish in 1847. "In point of fact, when this Church was separated from the State at the Disruption, she obtained the services, in her educational department, of the very *elite*, the very flower, of all the educational bodies in all broad Scotland. She got the flower of the parochial teachers, she got the flower of the Assembly teachers, and by an act of infatuation during the past year, the Establishment has again given her the flower of that valuable body of men—the teachers of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge."

In proof of this he dwelt on the fact that they were men who had acted on their own views of Christian principle. "And if you take one with another, the men of any body, you will find that the men of Christian principle are, generally speaking, the men of intellectual power; where you have men of a firm principle, you will invariably find that these are not the men of the least intellectual energy. We have got the flower of our Scottish teachers, and already the steps taken by this Church, allow me to say, have had the effect of putting a spirit of enthusiasm, a spirit of heartiness, into your teachers that, as you will presently see, has stimulated them to high attainments, and encouraged them to persevere in your service in the face of all difficulties." †

It is not our purpose in these pages to trace the history of the scheme. One great difficulty which soon presented itself, arose out of the agitation for a national system of education; and what made the difficulty greater was the avowed preference which the Church and Dr. Candlish soon showed in favour of the movement. A feeling of uncertainty thus began to arise as to when our own scheme might be superseded, and in this way the hands of the committee were greatly weakened in

* Assembly Proceedings, 1847, p. 126. † *Ibid.* p. 128.

appealing to the people. Yet, in the face of every difficulty, the scheme was carried steadily forward, with what results may be seen from the following authoritative statement, drawn up and laid before Members of Parliament in 1869. At the close of twenty-five years' work, this is what could be said:

"There are connected with and supported by the Free Church 598 schools (including two normal schools), with 633 teachers and 64,115 scholars. The results of the examination of schools receiving grants from the Privy Council by Her Majesty's inspectors, according to the revised code, show that the Free Church schools stand at the top of the elementary schools both in Scotland and England.

"The school buildings belonging to the Free Church have been erected at a cost of £220,000. Of this sum the Committee of Privy Council contributed £35,000, and the remainder, £185,000, has been raised by subscriptions and grants from the Free Church School Building Fund. The most of the buildings have been kept in good repair, at considerable expense to the congregations with which they are connected, and their present estimated value is about £180,000.

"The annual payments made to teachers from the education fund of the Free Church, amount to £10,000; and, in addition, congregations spend in supplementing the salaries of teachers and in charges connected with the maintenance of the schools, £6000 a-year.

"The total sum expended by the Free Church since the Disruption for educational purposes, is not less than £600,000."

The statement is brief, but it would be difficult to say what amount of skill, and labour, and prayer, and self-denying zeal were required to achieve such results; and it would be not less difficult to measure the benefits conferred on hundreds of thousands of the youth of the land who have passed through these schools, and are now rising up and taking their part in the work and responsibilities of life.

NOTE.—The attention of the reader is directed to the fact, that the Free Church schools, as tested by Government examination, stood at the head of the elementary schools of the

country. There was nothing on which the Church was from the first more determined than to have the education which she offered to the people of the very highest quality.

One proof of this among many which might be given, is a fact of some interest in the existing circumstances of Scotland at the present moment.

It is well known that an unfriendly feeling towards Normal schools has arisen in some quarters, as if they were antagonistic to the universities, and were meant to come between the teachers and a higher style of culture. If this ever were so in any quarter, it certainly never was in the Normal schools connected with the Free Church. A remarkable statement on the subject, made by Dr. Candlish just thirty years ago, on giving in his first report to the Assembly, deserves to be noticed. He was showing that these schools are really institutions for elevating and enlarging the minds of the teachers. "I will just say on this point, that the Committee are far from desiring that your Normal schools for teachers should ever take the place of, or supersede attendance on, the ordinary colleges or universities of Scotland. On the contrary, your Committee are perfectly prepared to recommend, if the House will adopt the recommendation, that it should be a condition, that any one competing for your higher rates of salary should show that he has been at least one or more years in attendance at the literary classes of the university. But the Committee beg to observe that attendance at the classes of the university has never until now, under any system in Scotland, been a necessary qualification, and we all know that the teachers, under the system that prevailed in the parochial schools, have been selected, excepting in some favoured districts of the country, very much without regard to such qualifications. This I state, not by any means as if it were not a right qualification, or as if it were not one which the Free Church *ought* to insist upon, but rather to explain why we have not hitherto insisted on this qualification in the teachers of your schools."

The view thus stated was, that the Normal schools ought to be a link of connection with our colleges, so as to confer on the teaching profession the benefits of a liberal university education,

All along this result has to a considerable extent been attained, and at the present moment (1877) more than ever it is the aim of the Education Committee of the Free Church. The reader, however, will not fail to observe how decidedly the church, thirty years ago, was looking in this direction, and in what strong terms her views were expressed by Dr. Candlish.

## VI. The New College.

There are many in the Free Church who must still remember the rooms in George Street, where the classes of the New College met during the first years of its history. Dr. Chalmers and Dr. Welsh had resigned those professorships which they held and adorned in the University of Edinburgh, their last session in connection with the Establishment having terminated a few weeks before the Disruption. Without hesitation it was at once resolved to open a Divinity Hall for the Free Church, and a Committee was empowered to appoint professors, to engage premises, and to have everything prepared for beginning at the usual time in November. There was, indeed, no time to be lost in bringing forward young men for the ministry. The fields were white to the harvest, the labourers were few, and on all sides the cry was rising, "Send us ministers." Accordingly, at the Glasgow Assembly, the Committee were ready with their report. Dr. Chalmers and Dr. Welsh were to be joined by Dr. Duncan as Professor of Hebrew and Dr. Cunningham in the Chair of Church History, and the Free Church might well feel thankful, that in such men she had a staff of professors whose names were a tower of strength in support of the cause of God in the land.

Immediately before the close of the Assembly, Dr. Candlish made a memorable appeal for young men to devote themselves to the work of the ministry. "We are to expect no miracle, no baring of the Lord's arm in any unusual manner—that is, without the use of means. Let us, then, see what are the sources of the supply of labourers on which we may depend. . . . The first and chief of these . . . is the piety of Christian parents and the early devotion of Christian youth to the cause of the

Lord. On this point I think the parents of our congregations, and the young, need to be reminded of their obligations, and it were well if ministers more habitually pressed on the attention of their congregations the duty of parents to devote their children to the work of the ministry, even in their early infancy, and the duty of the pious among the youth of the land to devote themselves early to this sacred work. In this way we would have coming into our colleges, with a view to the ministry, the godly youth of the land, from all parts of the country. . . . We hail every new instance of a parent, stirred up by a sense of the loud call the Lord is addressing to him, to devote and consecrate a child to His service—every new instance of a young man turning away from the secular pursuits of earthly ambition, and consecrating himself to the ministry of the Word, in the service of a Church which has no higher prize to offer now than the prize of winning souls to God." *

Within a week from the time when these words were spoken, the New College was opened at Edinburgh, the inaugural address being delivered in the Brick Church, Castle Terrace, by Dr. Chalmers, in the presence of "a large number of students, and a numerous and highly respectable audience." It was encouraging to see 103 young men of those formerly enrolled as students of divinity, rallying round the professors of the Free Church, and still more so, to find seventy-six entering as students of the first year. The number was large, but the fervour of Disruption feeling was strong among the youth of Scotland, and not only among the youth. "We have had some very cheering instances," Dr. Chalmers said, "I could name about twenty or thirty, of men abandoning secular employment and professions, giving up the prospect of a large and liberal competency in the walks of business, to devote themselves to the Christian ministry, and who are in actual attendance at the theological seminary, or are engaged some of them in learning Greek, and studying the very elements of a collegiate education in the University of Edinburgh, and that in the hope that . . . they may fulfil the object upon which their hearts are set—that is, to labour in the service

* Assembly Proceedings, 1843, Glasgow, p. 170.

of the Gospel of Jesus Christ during the remainder of their lives." *

A commencement such as this was full of encouragement, but that first session had not run its course before the friends of the college felt that it was essential to have suitable collegiate buildings provided without delay. A movement with this object in view was set on foot, Mr. Earle Monteith, advocate, taking the lead. The first thing was to find a fitting site in some central and prominent position. It might be difficult to obtain, and costly, but the fact that so many of the leading congregations had been forced to place their churches out of sight, in back lanes and back greens, rendered it only the more needful to have the college set advantageously in public view.

In May, 1844, Mr. Monteith laid the subject before the Assembly, stating on high authority that from £20,000 to £25,000 would be required to "erect a college which would be a credit to the Church." If to this were added the cost of such a site as was intended, the expense would be great, but there was one circumstance which had given him confidence in the result. He had met Mr. Macdonald, of Blairgowrie, fresh from that wonderful tour in which, with such ease and so much pleasure to all parties, he had in half-a-year raised the sum of £50,000, and Mr. Monteith said, "When I stated this to him (the cost), and told him that I thought the time was now come when we should set about the erection, before he would give his approbation to the plan, he made it a condition that we should accept of £10,000 from himself. Some would have been very apt to take this as a boast, and I confess that had he made the offer to me six months ago, I would have been very apt to smile at it, but when we see that within the last six months he has raised five times the sum, I think we may consider that in the course of twelve months his £10,000 will be as sure as if we had his bank-bill for it." †

It need not be said how gladly this proposal was accepted. Mr. Macdonald was cordially thanked for the £50,000 he had already raised, and with all the encouragement which the

* Assembly Proceedings, 1844, p. 250. † *Ibid.* p. 177.

Assembly could give, he was sent forth anew in quest of the £10,000 for the college.

Availing ourselves again of the narrative formerly quoted, we find that in this new undertaking Mr. Macdonald "met with the same overflowing kindness to himself personally, and the same liberality in subscribing to the cause, as had everywhere been extended to him when collecting the £50,000 for the erection of schools. He was frequently pronounced to be the most notable beggar of the time, and the enthusiasm manifested in favour of his schemes was truly astonishing. He diligently availed himself, no doubt, of every argument fitted to reach the hearts and consciences of his auditors, whether they were based upon facts gathered as he went along, or upon anecdotes, or passages of Scripture. He sometimes told a very effective illustration of a favourite text—'There is that scattereth and yet increaseth; and there is that withholdeth more than is meet, but it tendeth to poverty.' A lady resident in Edinburgh, and bearing a well-known and much-respected name, had undertaken to collect, in contributions of one shilling, a given amount for a very good purpose. There were, among others, two sisters, friends of hers, from each of whom she expected a shilling. Calling at their residence in the suburbs, she found only one of them at home. She, however, at once contributed a shilling for herself and also a shilling for her absent sister. The absent sister by-and-by met the lady who had been collecting the shillings, and informed her, to her utter amazement, that she decidedly objected to the contribution made by her sister on her behalf, and that the shilling must be returned. In vain did the lady remonstrate with her friend—the shilling must be paid back, and paid back there and then. It accordingly was, but with this remark, 'Well, well, there it is, but, depend upon it, you will get no blessing with it.' After some time, the two friends met again. Alluding to their last interview, the lady-collector said, 'Now, honestly tell me, did you get a blessing with that shilling?' Somewhat hesitatingly, the other replied, 'Well, to tell the real truth, the very day I took back the shilling I lost a pound!'

"In fulfilling his present task, Mr. Macdonald visited such localities as he had not been able to visit before. When in the

North, he was urged to go to Shetland; writing from which, in July, 1844, he says: 'The Lord has sent me here, and He has blessed my labours. I have got upwards of £100 in Lerwick, but, what is better, I think I have got souls. As we have no Free Church in Lerwick, I preached in the Secession Chapel, in the Independent Chapel, and last night in the Methodist Chapel.' It happened at this very time that Mr. Bruce, better known as Dr. Bruce, of Free St. Andrew's Church, Edinburgh, had arrived from Edinburgh, for the purpose of organising a Free Church congregation there; and while Mr. Macdonald preached in the Methodist Chapel the building was so crowded that Mr. Bruce and his sister, who were present, were obliged to sit on the pulpit stair. Mr. Macdonald visited Orkney at this time also, and there he received subscriptions for £340. Cromarty subscribed £150; and from Cromarty Mr. Macdonald wrote in August: 'I had the rare pleasure of meeting two very distinguished men here—Mr. Stewart, of Cromarty, and Hugh Miller, of the *Witness*. We had breakfast together at the minister's house, and I spent a most enjoyable morning with these remarkable men. They were both greatly interested in my work.' Nairn, Forres, Fochabers were visited on this journey, and subscribed. Huntly gave £318 and Keith £348.

"Returning from the North, Mr. Macdonald visited Hawick, Selkirk, Galashiels, Melrose, Bowden, Peebles, all in one week, and in October he visited Dumfries and Thornhill. An interesting account of his visit to these two last-named places appears in a local newspaper, as follows:—'Rev. Mr. Macdonald.—This gifted and devoted minister, before returning to his own flock, made a descent upon Dumfries, not with the highest expectations as to the result. Spite of the Caledonian Hunt, however, and other attractions there, a large assembly collected to hear him on the evening of Monday last, and, ere they parted, subscribed the sum of £806, 17s. 8d. On the same day, and in the same place, Dr. John Hunter, of the Tron, and Mr. James Cochrane, Cupar [both belonging to the Establishment], after very emphatic of addresses, succeeded in inducing the ladies of Dumfries to contribute the sum of £8, 3s. 4d. for the advancement of female education in India. Next day Mr. Macdonald set off for Thorn-

hill, and, after paying his respects to Janet Fraser, who was greatly delighted with his visit, preached at Virginhall in the evening, and explained his school-building scheme. The sum of £240 was raised without any difficulty. A shepherd, who had travelled all the way from Crawford Moor to hear him, subscribed his 500 pennies—more than a fourth part of the sum which the whole female aristocracy of Dumfries had contributed on the previous day for the cause of female education in India.'

"In the General Assembly of 1845, and on the 31st of May, Mr. Macdonald addressed the Assembly, and reported that he had fulfilled the three-months' duty on behalf of the College Fund, devolved upon him by the Assembly of 1844. He also expressed how much he regretted that he had not been able to visit many places in which he knew that a visit would have been very acceptable. The £10,000 additional, however, had all been subscribed." *

Thus successfully had Mr. Macdonald brought into the treasury the sum which he had promised to raise, and Mr. Monteith was ready no less successfully to do his part in laying it out to the best advantage. Already in the Assembly he had announced the purchase of a site at the head of the Mound, of which it was said, on the best authority, that "no better could have been found had we searched all Scotland." The expense, indeed, had been proportionally great—the first outlay (subsequently modified) had amounted to just £10,000 for the site alone, so that after the effort that had been made, the whole cost of the building had still to be provided for.

Here, once more, Mr. Macdonald interposed to offer a suggestion, perhaps the boldest in its conception, and that which, in the hands of Dr. Welsh, became the happiest in its execution of all these movements. "In the summer of 1844, and just before he had completed the work assigned to him by the Assembly in May, of raising subscriptions for £10,000 in aid of the New College, a munificent contribution was placed at Mr. Macdonald's disposal, which, under God, was the means of drawing forth, on the part of several individuals, 'an exhibition of the power of Christian principle' very seldom equalled. The

* Disr. Mss. lv.

honoured contributor, whose generous gift of £2000 was thus blessed, handed that amount to Mr. Macdonald, with power to him to apply it as he might believe to be most advisable for the benefit of the New College.

"Nine months ago he had devised, and within six months thereafter carried out, a scheme for raising £50,000 with which to build 500 schools. Three months ago he had proposed to supplement that scheme by raising an additional sum of £10,000 for the New College, which, in the course of two or three weeks, he expected to have accomplished. Now, the idea occurred to him that, as the less wealthy members of the Free Church had subscribed so heartily for the erection of schools, so the more wealthy members might be willing, if asked, to contribute of their abundance for the erection of a college. At the earliest opportunity he waited upon Dr. Welsh, the convener of the college committee, and informed him that he had received £2000 which could be applied for the building of the proposed New College; and then, for the first time, Mr. Macdonald suggested, and urged upon the convener, the propriety of trying to raise £20,000 in subscriptions of £1000 each, from twenty individuals, for this object. Dr. Welsh was not a little startled at this bold proposal of his young friend, but after discussing it, and looking at it on all sides, he agreed to give it a trial. Next morning, however, after sleeping over it, the revered and excellent doctor was much troubled with doubts as to the wisdom of acting on the suggestions of so ardent and youthful a counsellor. But while he was in this state of hesitation, Mr. Macdonald happened, fortunately, to call again. Returning to the subject with his usual enthusiasm, Dr. Welsh was prevailed upon finally to undertake the scheme. The result will be told by Dr. Welsh himself, in the following letter to Dr. Candlish, read at the Commission of Assembly on the 20th November, 1844:—

"'59 Melville Street, 20*th November*, 1844.

"'My dear Sir,—As in the present state of my health, I am advised not to attend the meeting of Commission this day, I shall be obliged to you to give in a report respecting the proceedings for building the college. The facts are simply these:

About two months ago Mr. Macdonald, of Blairgowrie, called upon me to inform me that he had got £2000—or, perhaps, £3000—for building a new college, and urged upon me the propriety of endeavouring to raise £20,000 from twenty individuals. As I had got £1000, in addition to the sum procured by Mr. Macdonald, I felt strongly inclined to undertake the duty, mainly from the desirableness of not distracting the people of Scotland in general with a new scheme, and partly also from the consideration that, as the middle and lower orders had raised £50,000 for the building of schools, £20,000 was not too much to expect from twenty of our wealthier adherents, who would thus perpetuate their names as exhibiting the power of Christian principle. Accordingly, I commenced operations, and in about a month £17,000 in all was the sum that was raised; and I have since that period got two additional names, making £19,000 in all. Had I not been taken ill in Glasgow when engaged in the work of raising subscriptions, I have no doubt whatever the sum of £20,000 would have been procured long ago, and it would have been more pleasant to me to have given a report that the whole was completed. But we must cheerfully submit to the ways of Divine Providence, knowing that they are always for the best. At present I do not mention the names of any of the contributors, as several of them objected to having their names published in the newspapers, and several of the donors are anonymous. While for the present, therefore, I abstain from giving any names, I think it proper to state that, while the motives of the individuals who have a hesitation as to giving publicity to their benevolence are of the most praiseworthy description, there are names on the list which, by their piety and station, would adorn any cause. I had almost forgot to state that I have the most perfect confidence in the sum being completed in a few days.—I am, &c., DAVID WELSH.'

"Dr. Candlish, in some humourous remarks, stated 'that the shares of this stock were at a premium, that only one share was in the market, for which the College Committee expected several competitors; and if the biddings for it were spirited it might be a matter of consideration whether or not a few more shares

might not with propriety, and with great generosity on their part, be allocated. To our friends in the West we are greatly indebted, in coming forward with their wonted liberality on behalf of this scheme.'

"In the editorial column of the *Witness* newspaper of the day, the following notice appeared:—'Our readers will peruse with peculiar interest and satisfaction the letter of Dr. Welsh in regard to the New College. Such a splendid and munificent subscription list will, we have no doubt, equally cheer our friends and astonish our enemies; and should encourage us to onward and persevering progress in the great work in which the Free Church is engaged.'

"At the General Assembly, and on the 2nd of June, 1845, Dr. Cunningham read the report of the College Committee (the revered Dr. Welsh having gone to his reward), in which it was stated that Dr. Welsh had succeeded in raising the £20,000 referred to in his letter of November last. Mr. Monteith read a report to the effect that £21,000 had been raised in all—£2000 from one contributor, and £19,000 from nineteen others. Mr. Monteith also reported with reference to the plans for the new building. Mr. Hog, of Newliston, at the same time made an interesting statement relative to a bursary fund which he had been exerting himself in raising for the benefit of young men preparing for the Free Church. After some discussion relative to these several reports, on the motion of Dr. Buchanan, the Moderator returned thanks to Dr. Cunningham, Mr. Monteith, and Mr. Hog. In the motion submitted by Dr. Buchanan, the following passage occurred:—'In reference to that part of the report which relates to the erection of suitable collegiate buildings, the Assembly have heard with the highest satisfaction and thankfulness that the munificent sum of £20,000, in sums of £1000 each, excepting one case, in which the subscription amounted to £2000, has been subscribed towards carrying this object into effect; and they remit to the Committee, of whose past proceedings they cordially approve, to proceed with all convenient speed towards the accomplishment of this important undertaking.'

"Before this subject was passed from, Mr. Sheriff Monteith

stated, that although the raising of the £20,000 for the college from twenty individuals had been attributed to Dr. Welsh, and, no doubt it was in a great degree rightly attributed, still, the idea of the scheme did not originate with him, but with a gentleman to whom the Church owed much. A few days after the Assembly of last year (probably the Commission in August), Dr. Welsh called upon him (Mr. M.), and stated that a scheme had been suggested to him whereby £20,000 could be obtained from twenty individuals for the College Fund, each paying £1000. He (Mr. M.) thought the proposal altogether visionary, but Dr. Welsh said that he had such confidence in Mr. Macdonald, of Blairgowrie, who was the person who suggested it—(hear hear)—that he would try its success, and that success was, that within six months he had the sum required (hear, hear)."

How the enterprise thus auspiciously begun was subsequently carried out it is not for us here to tell. The handsome buildings now seen at the head of the Mound were erected, after a design by Mr. Playfair, at an expense of £46,506. The New College has gathered round it endowments and funds which now amount to about £44,000. A library, containing 35,000 volumes of the most valuable literature, has been brought together. Upwards of 1300 students of divinity, intended for the ministry of the Free Church, have attended the Hall, and in addition to these, there have been 41 Scottish students of different denominations, 120 from Ireland, 14 from England, and 14 from Wales. The following also have attended from abroad—namely, from

| | |
|---|---|
| Canada, | 30 |
| United States, | 30 |
| Cape of Good Hope, | 20 |
| Hungary, | 15 |
| Bohemia, | 15 |
| Italy, | 11 |
| France, | 8 |
| Switzerland, | 4 |
| Belgium, | 2 |

A few from other nationalities, bring up the whole number of foreign students to 145.

While the New College in Edinburgh has been attended by a measure of success so gratifying, the Church has great reason to be thankful for the establishment of two sister colleges, the first at Aberdeen and the second at Glasgow. Into the history of these important institutions we do not propose at present to enter. They were built, and, to a large extent, endowed by the munificence of friends who felt the importance of having a Divinity Hall in each of these seats of learning. Thus, while many prayers have been going up to the Lord of the vineyard to send forth the needful labourers, the Church and her supporters have been enabled to show the sincerity of their prayers by those efforts and sacrifices through means of which ample opportunities have been afforded for the education of all the youth of Scotland whose hearts have been turned towards the work of the ministry.

The whole sums expended on these colleges and their endowments were stated in 1874 as amounting to £261,353, and they have since been increased.

## VII. Manses.

Churches, and schools, and colleges were thus provided for; but there was yet another of those great enterprises requiring to be brought before the people—the Manse-building Scheme, which was destined to be so closely associated with the name of Dr. Guthrie.

In rural districts, as all Scotland knows, a manse for the minister is essential, not merely for his personal comfort, but that, dwelling in the midst of his flock, he may have ready means of access to the people. Accordingly, at the Disruption, where money could be found, there were parishes in which the church and the manse were seen rising together.

One instance of this we may take from the parish of Torphichen. Dr. Hetherington had held a prominent place as an able advocate of Free Church principles, through the press and from the platform. The same energy which he had displayed during the conflict was not less conspicuous, in himself and his leading parishioners, after the battle was over. "The earth," it is stated, "was begun to be cleared away for the foundation of the church on the 12th day of June, and the church was opened for public worship on the 6th day of August, being the first Sabbath of that month, the whole having been completed within the short space of eight weeks. This almost unequalled rapidity was, under the blessing of God, owing to the remarkable activity and energy of Mr. David Macnair, by whom the whole work was managed. On the 24th day of August Mr. Hetherington entered into the manse, which was also ready for his reception; and on the 2nd day of October the new school was opened by Mr. Alex. Bethune, who had been chosen to be schoolmaster by the congregation after a public examination.

Thus, by the singular goodness of God to the people of Torphichen, theirs was the first church, the first manse, and the first school opened for public use in connection with the Free Church of Scotland; and this is here registered, not as a ground of boasting, but of fervent and grateful thanksgiving to that all-gracious God who wrought great things for them." *

Individual cases such as this, in which manses were built during the first summer, occurred in various parts of the country; but time was needed to bring home to the Church in general a sense of those hardships under which ministers were suffering. Already in a former section we have described the dwellings to which the families of the manse had to retire, involving in many cases trials almost as hard for the people to witness as for the ministers to bear. It may be right, however, to give some additional examples, in order to remind the reader of the extent to which such things prevailed all over the country.

There were localities in which the inconveniences were slight. "I have been badly situated for a residence," says Mr. Gibson, of Kirkbean; "sometimes under the necessity of living with one family, and sometimes with another. Now I am living with a large family for a time, and in a very small cottage, in every way uncomfortable for a minister's residence." †

A migratory life such as this must have had its discomforts, but there were often trials of a more serious kind. "Mr. Edmondston, of Ashkirk, was a man of much refinement and classical culture, in whom learning and piety were always exhibited in happy union. . . . When the Disruption became inevitable, he did not hesitate to surrender one of the few good livings in the south of Scotland—a beautiful manse and glebe, and the position of a parish minister, which, to one of his tastes and education, was more trying than the surrender of income. . . . Certain legal difficulties were interposed in the way of granting a site for a manse. Mr. Edmonston accordingly was obliged to take up his residence in a small house four miles

* Kirk-session Record, Torphichen.

† Disr. Mss. xxiii. p. 7.

distant from his church, and, being soon deprived of this, he had to remove to a damp, decayed farmhouse three miles farther distant. Under the excessive fatigue to which he had thus been exposed, and in this unhealthy residence, his health failed, and it was only after a lengthened sojourn at Harrogate that he was enabled to resume his ministerial labours. In 1845 he transferred his residence to Selkirk. Here he continued for fourteen years, subjected to all the inconvenience of carrying on his pastoral work at the distance of six miles from his flock. Few ministers suffered more. For nearly eight years he walked every Lord's day to his church and back, after preaching and holding a Sabbath school. He was accustomed to say, when remonstrated with, 'It is my Master's work, and I rejoice to do it.' But the fatigue and excitement proved too great, as preying on his constitution, and he was again ordered to the south of England." *

In contrast to this and the cases which follow, it ought to be acknowledged that among the landlords of Scotland opposed to the Free Church there were some who acted a very generous part towards the outgoing ministers. One of these was the Marquis of Tweeddale, who, during the conflict, had resisted the claims of the Church, without, however, allowing any keenness of controversy to interfere with the kindness of private intercourse. In 1843 he was in India as Governor of Madras, but, opposed though he was to the Disruption, he did not forget his parish minister, for whose personal comfort in that time of trial he showed the most kind and thoughtful consideration.

Dr. Thomson, then of Yester, states: "At first there seemed to be even greater difficulty in procuring a dwelling-house than in procuring a place for public worship. If Lord Tweeddale had been at home, I was sure that he would have given me one of his empty houses in the village for the accommodation of my family; but I was not sure that the factor—though he always acted a fair and honourable part—would feel at liberty to grant it. At that time, however—before the Disruption—I went to him to inquire if he could. He told me that he had just had a letter from his lordship at Madras, to say that he hoped I would

* Parker Mss., Presb. of Selkirk.

not leave the manse; but that if I did, I was to take any house of his that I might prefer. The factor offered me the choice of two houses, and pressed me to take the larger one; but I preferred the smaller cottage on account of its superior situation and view. I asked him what the rent would be. He replied that his instructions were that I was to sit rent-free. I demurred to this; and at length the difficulty was removed by his saying that it would be £6 yearly. So that, unlike many of my less favoured brethren, my difficulty was not about getting a house, but about inducing the owner to accept any rent for it. I have great pleasure in recording this, in gratitude to my noble patron, and also to his factor, Henry M. Davidson, Esq. In a week or two after the Disruption we quitted the manse; and this unquestionably was the most painful part of the whole process. It was done very rapidly by my worthy partner. In the morning I went to Haddington to attend a meeting of Presbytery, and when I returned in the evening, I found the manse empty and the cottage in beautiful order; so that I was almost inclined to say, like Dr. N. Patterson, of Glasgow, at the Convocation, that the lifeboat looked nearly as beautiful as the ship." *

Such cases should not be forgotten, though the effect may only be to render the conduct of certain other proprietors more painful by contrast.

At Forgandenny, Mr Drummond states: "Before leaving home for the Disruption Assembly I arranged with a neighbour who had a couple of comfortable rooms to spare, to let us have them should we require them. And when the great event had actually taken place, I wrote to my wife, who remained in the manse during my absence, to remind that person of his promise, and to make sure that we should have the apartments. His answer was that he dared not, and plainly signified that he had been warned of the risk he would incur should he let them to us. . . .

"There being now no other suitable dwelling in the parish, we were obliged to take refuge in a small thatched cottage in the village, where we remained for upwards of four months,

* Disr. Mss. lvii.

till the health of both of us began to suffer, and our medical friend insisted that we should remove as speedily as possible. In that cottage we had but one small room for all purposes; our servant had to sleep and prepare our victuals in another cottage." *

The privations thus submitted to were often of the most painful kind. A much respected minister writes that, "when he and his family left the manse, they took up their abode in a house, the only one they could get in the parish; and the place was so small that they had to pack two nurses and eight children into two beds which were scarcely large enough to hold two adults." †

It was not easy to exchange comfortable manses for such dwellings. How calmly this was done in most cases we have already seen; but two additional examples may be given, still further to show how such experiences were met. The reader will observe the impression produced upon the children of the manse.

The Rev. Eric Findlater, at Lochearnhead, writes to his father: "I well remember the leaving of the manse. It was in a warm but dull July night. During the day all was excitement about the house, in consequence of the sale; but towards the evening the people had dispersed, and I accompanied the children in sight of the farm-house where they were to spend the night, but soon returned. At the manse I found none but yourself and my mother. You may remember, about this time the godly miller from Balnakeel came up, and that either he or yourself joined in prayer. I could do little else than traverse all the rooms in the house for the last time, which I did again and again, a hundred youthful and pleasing associations crowding upon me at every step. At length the miller departed. I remember that neither my mother nor you spoke much, and when you wished to lock the door, she insisted on doing so herself, and with her own hands quenching the dying embers of the nursery fire. Having done this, she turned the key in the door of that house in which she was born, and where she

* Disr. Mss. liii. pp. 5-7.

† Assembly Proceedings, 1845, p. 241.

had spent the greater part of her life. Not a word was spoken. We then slowly walked away, and when outside the gate that bounds the glebe, we stood for an instant and looked back—I trust, none of us in the spirit of Lot's wife—and then resumed our silent walk. I remember thinking at the time, when looking on you as a houseless old man that night, I felt prouder of having such a father than if I had seen you sitting in the house we had just left enjoying *otium cum dignitate*, but wanting the approbation of a good conscience, which at that moment I was convinced you enjoyed without the least alloy. As we proceeded to the inn, the people had too much of the fine feelings so characteristic of the poor Highlanders to allow them to make any open or noisy demonstration, though there was many a weeping eye and sobbing heart among them. When we arrived at the inn, my dear mother's courage, which had never failed during the hard ordeal of the previous days, now gave way, and got relief in a gush of womanly feeling in the privacy of her own chamber." . . .

So also, at Crailing, Roxburghshire, the Rev. A. W. Milroy states: "It was a lovely evening in July when the manse was left. When all was ready, and they were about to start, my father gathered his family in the empty room, and then kneeling down, commended us all in prayer to God's keeping and love. Such times were never forgotten even by the youngest. Long afterwards my brother, who had knelt as a boy in that room, wrote, when embarking for Turkey for service in the Crimean war: 'I remember our father assembling us all in Crailing manse, and committing us to the care of our Heavenly Father. In like manner I now commit myself to His watchful love.'" *

But it is of the trials that were met with after the change that we have now to speak.

Only they who had seen Mr. Garioch in the manse of Old Meldrum can appreciate what he tells us of his new home:—"When my late wife and I, with our servants, left the manse of the Established Church at Meldrum, we took up our abode in what was called the stocking-house, probably from the purpose to which it had been applied by a former

* Memorials of A Quiet Ministry, p. 40.

proprietor. . . . It consisted of four apartments—two on the ground floor, which were used, one for the kitchen, and the other as a place for lumber; and two on the next floor, the one occupied as a sitting-room, and the other as our sleeping apartment. The larger part of the latter room was so low in the roof, and nothing above but the naked rafters without a flooring over them [ceiling under them ?], that I had to walk very warily, and to be careful lest I struck my head against one or other of them. There was also a sort of loft or garret above these, into which as much of our furniture as it could contain was packed, and the remainder not used by ourselves was received under safe custody by our kind neighbours and friends. While residing here, my dear wife was seized with typhus fever, under which, in this poor state of accommodation, she lay for several weeks; but, through the great mercy of our God, she was again restored to health; and to the praise and glory of His grace I can say that, during all the hardships of that period, we enjoyed the greatest peace and tranquillity of soul, and many tokens of the goodness of our Heavenly Father. One of our servants, while we were in this house, also had an attack of fever." *

The breaking up of families was another trial of that time, of which many examples might be given. In Aberdeenshire there were two brothers—Mr. Henry Simson, of Chapel of Garioch, and Mr. David Simson, of Oyne—who were held in high respect and esteem by all classes of society. "At Oyne, Mr. David Simson could not obtain a house to dwell in, in any part of the parish or neighbourhood. At last he got two small rooms and a bed-closet from a day-labourer, who occupied the old schoolhouse. This house had been condemned as unsafe several years before. The joists were quite gone, the stair was rotten and propped up. There were holes in the door, some inches wide. The windows at times neither kept out rain, wind, nor snow. A great part of the roof was twice blown off while he possessed it. Still it was the only house in the parish that could be obtained. Mr. Simson was thankful to get it, and lived in it for nearly six years." †

In regard to Mr. Henry Simson, it is stated that "the evil

* Parker Mss., Presb. of Garioch. † *Ibid.*

which he felt most keenly was the difficulty he experienced in providing in the scene of his labours a suitable residence for himself and his family. He often mourned over his protracted separation from them. . . . He was under the necessity of sending his wife and their numerous young family to Aberdeen, a distance of twenty miles, where they had to remain three years; while he, during that period, in order to reside in the midst of his flock, was constrained to betake himself to lodgings of a very insufficient and uncomfortable description, granted by a farmer. The proprietor, however, did not approve of this, and desired him to inform Mr. Simson that he must remove, which accordingly he was obliged to do. He then got a small, damp cottage, in another part of the parish in which he had faithfully laboured for no less a period than twenty-six years, where, we believe, he contracted a disease which resulted in his death." *

Another trying case was that of Mr. Inglis, at Edzell. "On the 20th of June I and my family left the manse, and went to a house in the village, where we had very insufficient accommodation. We had only three small apartments and two very small closets. The largest apartment was about ten feet square, and when the family assembled for worship there was barely room to kneel round a small table in the middle of the room. A place for a kitchen was fitted up in an outhouse forty yards away from the room where we took our meals. We were directly opposite the inn, and visitors there were much amused for years to see the dinner of the Free Church minister and his family carried up a lane and down a street to the place where they dwelt. They always saw, however, that we were neither starved nor starving, as some of our Moderate friends and fearful supporters anticipated that we would be; but, on the contrary, that we were really getting something to eat and keep us alive. The rooms that we occupied would only hold a very small part of my furniture, and the bulkiest and best of it was sent to friends' houses in the neighbourhood. It thus happened to be in three different parishes, and two different counties. I used to joke a good deal about this, and speak of

* Parker Mss., Presb. of Garioch.

my town and two country residences, in the one of which I could sit upon my own chairs, and in the other stretch my legs under my own mahogany. . . . The insufficient accommodation in which I and my family were cooped up at length produced the inevitable consequence. Gastric fever broke out amongst us. I escaped it myself, but I was for six weeks prevented from putting off my clothes, as some of those who were in the fever needed constant attendance by night as well as day. My health, in consequence of this night-work and want of rest, together with my anxiety about those who were ill, began to give way. The Rev. Mr. Nixon, of St. John's, Montrose, on a friendly visit which he paid me, saw the state I was in, and resolved that it should be endured no longer." *

It is not to be wondered at if, under such a strain, painful results frequently followed. The case of Mr. Davidson, of Kilmalie, was formerly referred to, and the hardships under which his wife's health gave way, and her life was ultimately sacrificed. Five times he had to change his temporary places of residence, refusing to leave his people, though the wretched accommodation with which he was content was again and again taken from him. "He was driven to Fort-William, over an arm of the sea, which he had to cross in an open boat on every occasion on which he visited his people. . . . The heart of this worthy man filled, and he burst into tears when he spake of his trials; . . . yet he makes little complaint. He expresses his determination to remain by his people, and even speaks kindly of those that have done him wrong." † But the inevitable consequences followed. "I was suddenly laid low with at dangerous illness, which brought on a stroke of paralysis, in consequence of which I was laid aside from my work for a period of twelve months, during which period my pulpit was supplied partly by the kindness of friends, and partly by probationers appointed by the Church." ‡ "It was an illness," says one who knew him well, "from which he never thoroughly recovered." §

* Memorials of Disruption in Edzell, by the Rev. R. Inglis, pp. 16, 42.
† *Free Church Mag.* ii. 199. ‡ Parker Mss., Presb. of Abertarff.
§ *Home and Foreign Missionary Record*, 1872, p. 57.

But not only did disease enter these desolate homes; there was death, as the above extracts show. We have recorded the cases of Baird of Cockburnspath, and the Mackenzies of Tongue, described by Dr. Guthrie; but, in addition to these, other instances might still be mentioned, as, for example, Mr. Thomson, of Peterculter—a young minister of high promise, who was believed to have died of the damp of an unhealthy cottage, the only residence he could obtain in the midst of his people.

The sight of such things going on in the country roused men's feelings. At Edzell, the condition of Mr. Inglis and his family led to a movement, headed by Mr. Nixon, in which many friends took part. Contributions were raised throughout the Synod; a feu was purchased in the village, at a price beyond its value; and a commodious cottage was built and presented to the minister.

The feeling thus roused in Forfarshire by an individual case was already stirring all over the country. Mr. Thomson, of Banchory, was the first to move, declaring in the Assembly of 1844 that it was not to be borne to have ministers subjected to such burdens. A committee, consisting of none but laymen, was appointed; and a subscription list was opened, the Dowager Marchioness of Breadalbane and Mr. Campbell, of Tilliechewan, leading the way with donations of £500 each. But while the laity were thus eager, the ministers generally regarded the movement as premature. Precedence must be given to the appeals of Mr. Macdonald and Dr. Welsh. They therefore laid an arrest upon the proposed efforts, resolving that "until the Church's necessary machinery was all in working order they would not allow their personal comfort to be consulted." The progress of such movements, however, in those days was rapid. Within a year all that was asked for those schemes had been given, the way was clear, and in May, 1845, it was felt that the building of manses must be set about in serious earnest.

That the cause was good no one could doubt, the only thing required was an advocate to do for it what Mr. Macdonald had done for the schools and the college. A most fortunate choice it was when—on the suggestion, it is believed, of Dr. Chalmers—Dr. Guthrie was called to undertake the work. It would be

difficult to say whether the cause was more fortunate in its advocate, or the advocate in his cause. That oratory, of which he was a consummate master, could nowhere have found a theme more congenial or better fitted to call out the powers with which he was gifted, and never could the cause have found one whose pleadings and appeals were so sure to urge home its claims on the hearts of men. On the last day of May, 1845, he stood before the Assembly, and, in the act of accepting his commission, he declared that for such an object he was prepared to spend and be spent. "I go forth on the promise of God's Word, the best guarantee for the goodness of a cause, and the best means of raising the sympathy of the human heart." *

Several weeks were needed to make preparation for a period of absence so lengthened, but on the 9th of July all was ready, and he left to begin operations in Glasgow. Dr. Buchanan will remember, he afterwards said, he met me at the railway terminus, and saw me with nothing but a flower in my buttonhole. I knew that I had a good cause; I knew that I had good clients. "I showed no little common sense in going to Glasgow first. I understand very little of music, but I understand enough to know that if you begin to sing in a low key, you cannot easily get up to a higher one; and it is with *money* as with *music*—if you begin on a low key, you cannot get up without great difficulty." †

Very generously did the friends of the Free Church in that city justify this confidence. At first, the intention at headquarters had been to raise £50,000, but before a single step was taken, the friends in Glasgow—prominent among whom was Professor Rainy, M.D.—earnestly urged that the sum aimed at should be raised to £100,000. Aided by such hearty support, Dr. Guthrie began his work; and he was soon able to say, "I have spent three of the happiest days I ever spent in my life in this city. I have gone from house to house, and from counting-room to counting-room, and I have found no cold looks, but genuine kindness. I have often been told, 'Oh, Mr. Guthrie, there is no use in making a speech. We are quite prepared

* Assembly Proceedings, 1845. Edinburgh, p. 241.
† Life of Dr. Guthrie, vol. ii. p. 74.

for you, sir; where's your book?'" The result of these three days was just £10,000; and he was able, six weeks afterwards, to tell the Assembly at Inverness that in Glasgow and its neighbourhood he had raised upwards of £35,000. Cheered by such success, Dr. Guthrie went on his way. The next ten months was a time of incessant toil. "He visited thirteen Synods, fifty-eight Presbyteries, and several hundreds of separate congregations, in many cases preaching the Gospel, always making a fervent appeal of an hour or more for his manse scheme. In the more important places he spent the following day in making personal visits, subscription-book in hand. . . .

"The speeches which Mr. Guthrie delivered during these months would of themselves fill a volume; and although the main burden of them all was necessarily similar, one is struck, in reading them, by his versatility in adapting his remarks, pathetic or humourous, to the locality, the time, and the class which he addressed." *

The writer may be allowed to refer to the only meeting of the series at which he was personally present—that held at Fordoun, where Dr. Guthrie was the guest of Captain Burnet, of Monboddo. The district was not far from Brechin and Arbirlot. Dr. Guthrie well knew the class of people, and never did he show more signally the rare power with which he could adapt himself to his audience, and the resistless influence which he wielded, both in the sermon and the address. The result greatly exceeded his expectations. Before going to the meeting, after dining at Monboddo, he had been "somewhat disconcerted by the evident flurry and annoyance into which Captain Burnet was thrown by the disappearance of a pair of spectacles. 'Too bad! too bad!' he exclaimed more than once; 'these glasses cost me fourteen shillings last year in London, and now the money's gone.' This don't look well for my subscription-book to-night, was my mental reflection," added Mr. Guthrie, in telling the story; "if the loss of a pair of spectacles be counted so serious, how am I to look for £50? But what was my surprise and delight when Captain Burnet headed the list,

* Life of Dr. Guthrie, vol. ii. p. 76.

after my speech, with a subscription of £200 to the manse fund." *

Moving thus from place to place all over the country, and raising contributions differing greatly in amount, from the minimum of £5 up to Lord Breadalbane's munificent subscription of £5000, Dr. Guthrie was able to tell the Assembly of 1846 that he had raised £116,370 from 6610 subscribers, being an average of £19 from each. It was a great success, and all the greater because the money had been freely and generously given. "I could bring before you," he said, addressing the Assembly, "many instances in which I have actually restrained people from subscribing. I may mention one instance, which Mr. Buchanan, of Glasgow, will remember. He and I waited upon a lady in Glasgow, and told her that we had come, not to urge her to give, but to prevent her, when she was called upon, from giving too much. In fact, wherever I went I was cordially received; and I found that I was no beggar at all. I had no more to do than to mention my errand, and the people at once subscribed. Ours, sir, were the generous grapes which yield the wine freely, and not the husks to which they need to apply the screw. So far from pressing, I have often been struck

* Captain Burnet deserves to be remembered as one of the very few landed proprietors in Kincardineshire who stood by the Free Church. Grandson of the famous Lord Monboddo, along with some trace of eccentricity, he inherited no small share of the family talent. For a considerable number of years he had openly taken his stand on the side of Christ, and when the Disruption came, it seemed fairly to open his heart. Notices like the following, which appeared from time to time in the local newspapers, showed what he was :—"The Deacons Court of Laurencekirk have thankfully to acknowledge the grant of £40 from Captain Burnet, of Monboddo, whereby the entire debt of their neat and commodious church has been extinguished. This is but one of the many acts of generosity which this Christian-minded gentleman has done to this and other congregations of the Free Church in this quarter." Quoted in *Witness*, 9th August, 1845. Dr. Chalmers, after three days spent at Monboddo in 1843, makes this entry in his diary : "I took leave, with much feeling, of the whole family, children and all. I have been treated with the greatest cordiality, and I owe nothing to the Captain but the utmost gratitude and respect. What a difference it would make in Scotland if we had one such as he within every ten miles of each other."—Memoirs of Dr. Chalmers, vol. iv. p. 361.

with the way in which many a one put down his subscription; and when my heart was full, and I was ready to say, Thank you, sir, many and many a time I have been answered, 'You are not to thank us, Mr. Guthrie, but we have to thank you for giving us the opportunity to subscribe.'" *

The money thus raised was energetically administered by the committee of management. The subscriptions were spread over five years, during which the fund was gathered in; but before the third year had closed it was reported that 409 manses were already built or in progress. To each of these the grant from the general fund was from £150 to £200, the rest being left for local subscriptions. From year to year the work went forward, till in 1870 Dr. Buchanan was able to state that 719 manses had been completed, at a cost of £467,350.

This great enterprise thus successfully wrought out has proved in every point of view an unspeakable blessing to the Free Church. It was a relief to the hearts of many among the laity when they saw their ministers taken out of those comfortless and unhealthy cottages into which they had been driven.

It gave stability to the cause of the Free Church. "The very name of a manse carries permanency with it. It so happens," said Dr. Guthrie, "that I lately met a man who was a keen opponent of the Free Church, and he said that he thought that the Free Church was getting into a highly dangerous position. As long as she merely built churches he was not afraid of her; she was like a vessel lying in a bay which might be driven out to sea after all; but if she got manses too, she would become like a ship dropping anchor, and which there was little chance of driving back to sea again."

"It added to the comfort of the minister, supplementing his stipend to the extent of £30 or £40, not rising or falling, but fixed and sure. It strengthened his hands for ministerial work in the midst of his people. This was specially true of the brethren in country districts. On them the burden and heat of the day has lain. It fell comparatively little on us who were in the town. . . . We saw the wave of the Disruption coming upon us—we faced it boldly—it broke over us—and we were

* Assembly Proceedings, 1846, p. 189.

little the worse of it. But it was different in country parishes: the wave of the Disruption came, they saw it plainly, and they faced it boldly; but it broke over them, and left many of them amid the wreck of their worldly all. . . . I rejoice, among other things, that comfort is coming to them, and that it is not far away." *

There was but one painful circumstance connected with all this—the effect which the labours of these months produced on the health of Dr. Guthrie. "No one," said Dr. Buchanan, "who was in any way cognisant of his labours, who witnessed the energy with which he threw his whole heart and soul into that movement, who had occasion to observe the extraordinary amount not merely of mental energy, but of bodily strength, given to that cause—none who is acquainted with these circumstances can fail to trace no small measure of the weakness which he now [1848] suffers to his labours on that great occasion." † As years passed on these effects were greatly alleviated, and if the results of such toil were never wholly removed, Dr. Guthrie had at least the satisfaction of feeling that, though he had spent his strength, it was not spent in vain. Over all broad Scotland there were hundreds of pleasant homes, which, but for that Manse Scheme, would never have been built. The ministers of the Free Church had their comforts largely increased, and, what was far more important, they were enabled to live among their people—having access to the families and doing the pastoral work—feeding the flock over which the Holy Ghost had made them overseers.

* Assembly Proceedings, 1846, p. 189.

† *Ibid.* 1848, p. 271.

## VIII. Trials of the People.

It is no pleasant task to speak of the trials to which so many of the people were subjected on leaving the Establishment. The ten and a-half millions sterling* which they have contributed in free-will offerings to the cause of their Church have sufficiently proved how deep and abiding their convictions must have been; but not less was this attested, even at the outset, by the steadfastness with which hardships of many different kinds were unflinchingly endured.

The hostile feeling of adversaries was sometimes seen in matters of very small account. "In a parish by no means so far as 100 miles from Cockburnspath, . . . sometime ago a small rustic bridge, formed of rude planks covered with turf, which furnished a passage to the members of the Free Church over a burn on their way to their place of worship, was found one morning burned to the water-edge. As it was discovered that after this the refractory Free Church goers had succeeded in getting across the burn at a place where it divided itself into two streams, this was ingeniously prevented in all time coming by converting the two streams into one." †

At Roslin, Mr. Brown preached from a tent in the old Roman Catholic burying-ground for eighteen successive Sabbaths. On one of the Sabbaths three elderly men, having the appearance of gentlemen, visited Roslin, and spent the day in a variety of amusements, and having dined at the inn, they went to the old graveyard and overturned the tent, left it lying in fragments, and then left in great haste for Edinburgh." ‡

* The exact sum in 1874 was £10,723,102, 15s. 11d. For details, see Appendix III.

† *Witness*, 2nd August, 1845.

‡ Paper by the Rev. Mr. Brown, Parker Mss., Presb. of Dalkeith.

"There is a certain southern parish, where the Free Church people gathered from great distances, in a thinly peopled district, for public worship. The summer of 1843 was warm and dry, and that congregation found untold comfort in a fine spring of cool delicious water, which issued from a bank by the roadside, near their place of meeting. This was observed. The proprietor of the soil had a drain dug, and cut off the spring. Such things are remembered still." *

These annoyances, after all, were of little importance; but soon matters took a more serious form. Sometimes the trial came in the shape of threats, by landlords, and factors, and employers attempting to establish something like a reign of terror.

"Immediately after the Disruption," says Mr. Forbes, of Woodside, "the female collectors who worked at the cotton factory were told that if they continued to act in that capacity they would be dismissed from their work. Others, accordingly, took their places, until the indignation of the parties in question somewhat cooled, which it soon did." †

"One of my heritors [at Lesmahagow] met a working-man, who was the proprietor of a small tenement, and said to him, 'Peter, if you join these Free Church folks, you will lose your house—all will be taken from you to pay law expenses.' The plain working-man was somewhat disconcerted by this appeal to his fears, and forthwith repeated the matter to his wife, who had a firmer faith. She encouraged her husband, and said, 'Never mind, Peter; just say to the gentleman, better lose our house than lose our souls.'" ‡

Dr. Simpson, of Kintore, states: "Both the principal heritors were avowedly hostile, but they never directly interfered with the members of the Free Church, so far as is known to me. Very unscrupulous use, however, was made of the late Lord Kintore's name by ——, who did all he could to intimidate the smaller tenants. Grievous complaints of this interference were made to me by several of the parties thus heartlessly—and, as I believe, without authority—assailed and threatened. Though most of the people stood firm under these attacks, there can

* Life of Dr. Cunningham, p. 194.

† Disr. Mss. xxvii. p. 11.

‡ Disr. Mss. xxxi. p. 20.

be no doubt that some timid persons gave way before the temptation." *

"I know of one instance," said Mr. Carment, of Rosskeen, "in which a pious parishioner in the North was willing to accommodate her pastor and his family in her house. She was told that if she did so it would be to her hurt. Her answer was, 'Well, I cannot help it, although it be to my hurt—although you should send me to jail for it. I must and will receive that servant of the Lord.'" †

In one of the rural districts of a southern parish "there lived a widow woman on the barony of the chief resident heritor. She alone of all the people on the estate joined the Free Church. Of course, such a bold step was instantly marked by him who seemed resolved that there should be but one conscience in all the barony. A message was openly sent through her son, given to him by the proprietor's own lips in the midst of a number of workmen engaged on a bridge, for the purpose, I suppose, of striking terror into all, 'that her husband (he was then upwards of fourscore years of age) must seek another house at the term, if his wife did not cease going to the Free Church.' In the house to which this message was brought there lived at the time the patriarch of upwards of eighty years and his little grandchild—the fifth generation in the house and on the property. When the message was given in the evening, the spirited woman said to her husband, 'Wattie, it's now come to this—we must decide between keeping this house and getting a right and a readiness for the house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.' 'Aweel, then,' said the old patriarch, 'the thing's soon decided—gang where your conscience bids; I would gang wi' ye, if I could gang onywhere. He whom we seek to serve will aye keep some house abune our heads as lang as we're here.' She went, as usual, in the face of the proprietor and all his dependents. She abides in the house. It was too strong a step to take in the light of day, to turn out the oldest residenters on the property, the more especially as the old man soon took his last illness."

* Parker Mss., Paper by Rev. Dr. Simpson, Kintore.

† *Witness*, 4th November, 1843.

But these threats were not confined to labourers and domestics. Farmers also were to be influenced—sometimes indirectly, and at other times by distinct warnings.

Mr. Brown, of Largo, refers to certain of his heritors whose object was to discountenance the members of the Free Church. "They were threatened with the loss of employment, and tenants who were in arrears with the loss of all favour, and no doubt there were those of both classes earnest supporters of the Free Church who had come out, and yet afterwards returned to the Establishment owing to such measures." *

"Different cases of intimidation exercised on the part of landlords towards their tenants have been mentioned to me. One landlord intimated to the farmers on his estate that it would be for their advantage to have nothing to do with the Free Church and that they should remain, like himself, where they were." †

In another district the intimation was made more distinctly in a different way. "There lives, west from Stirling, but not within ten miles of the Parliamentary burgh, a certain landed proprietor, who has been receiving rent from his tenants. At this audit, as it is called in England, a strange scene happened. First, a tenant appeared who still adhered to the Kirk. He was received with a cheerful countenance and a hearty shake of the hand, and 10 per cent. of his rent was returned, with best wishes that it might prosper in his hands. But when a luckless wight made his appearance who had adhered to the Free Church, the landlord left the room, and the tenant had his rent to pay to the factor, who had no authority to relieve one farthing, but he must pay the whole sum, plack and bawbee, without one single smile from the dignitary, or one wish for his prosperity." ‡

When Mr. M'Leod, of Maryborough, went to preach among the parishes of Strathspey, the state of matters was such as is difficult to conceive of. The opposition "came from hostile local officials, urged on by the clergy of the Established Church, and manifested itself in every shape and form. The tents erected in the open air for his preaching were often thrown down at night, the people were interfered with on the high roads when

* Disr. Mss. xlv. † Disr. Mss. xxxi. p. 19.

‡ *Witness*, 29th July, 1843.

assembling for public worship, every species of annoyance was resorted to, from low threats and insinuations to gross misrepresentations in the public prints. Factors visited tenants, exhibiting a document called the black list, to inform them that they were taking up the names of all that would attend the Free Church, to be produced at the expiry of their leases. Shop-keepers were told that they would forfeit the custom and countenance of the wealthy and influential in the country. Servants of every description holding situations, from the local manager or grieve down to the herd, were threatened with deprivation of office and service. Feuars who signified their intention to grant ground for the Free Church congregation to worship on, had their charters demanded and their rights questioned. Wood merchants were interfered with for selling wood for any Free Church purpose." *

Such threats were not uttered without the full intention of carrying them into effect. "I saw two servants in livery at the tent," says Hugh Miller. "They are, I have been told, domestics of ——, a fierce Intrusionist, and have been warned to quit his service at the term for their adherence to the Free Church." †

"Only yesterday, we heard of a most respectable aged widow who had been just turned away from her employment by the factor of a south country nobleman, and, after a lifetime of hard service on the estate, thrown on the charity of a married daughter, solely on the ground that she had allowed the worship of God to be conducted in her house by a Free Church minister." ‡

"I know an instance in which a servant was turned off for no other reason than his adherence to the Free Church. When he asked his master if he had not always proved a faithful servant to him, what was his master's reply? 'Oh yes, you have always proved a faithful, honest servant, but I cannot keep you if you will not leave those ministers.' 'Sir,' retorted the servant, 'if I give up my conscience for food and clothing, you could trust but little to my honesty.'" §

* Parker Mss., Statement by Rev. Mr. M'Leod, p. 5.

† Life, vol. ii. p. 384. ‡ *Witness*, 23rd September, 1843.

§ *Witness*, 4th November, 1843, Mr. Carment.

"Our difficulties," says Mr. Taylor, of Flisk, Fifeshire, "came thick upon us; many of the neighbouring proprietors were roused to opposition by the extent of the movement. Mr. ——, of ——, prevented his cottars and dependants from worshipping with us, and those who were resolute in their adherence he dismissed from his grounds and service, ostensibly for other reasons, but this was known to be the real one. He traces his lineal descent from Claverhouse." *

"The spirit of the Moderates," again writes Hugh Miller, from Cromarty, "in this part of the country is bitterness itself. Servants dismissed, labourers thrown out of employment, angry interviews between landlord and tenant—we hear of little else in this corner." †

But the extent to which all this was carried may perhaps be best learned from a statement of Mr. Hamilton, convener of the Building Committee, when giving in his report in May, 1844:—"The committee do not intend at present to bring forward details. . . . They will only select as a specimen a single sentence, lately received from a most respectable minister, who, speaking of his own parish, says: 'About fifty servants and day-labourers, several of them with weak families and destitute of means, have been dismissed and thrown out of employment, and everything done against them to render their adherence bitter. Yesterday, in addition to the servants removed at last term, about twenty more, with their families, were served with summonses of removal for supporting and attending the Free Church; while such as agree to oppose it are called from distant parishes to supply their places, and are encouraged and protected, whatever character they bear.'" ‡

There was much to regret in the state of society which all this was fitted to produce; but in every part of Scotland there are stories innumerable of how fearlessly the old Scottish spirit of independence rose to resist such attempts at oppression, showing at the same time an enlightened devotedness to what the people believed to be the cause of God and of truth.

For the most part, the resistance was as quiet as it was firm.

* Disr. Mss. xxxvii. p. 11. † Life, vol. ii. p. 376.
‡ Assembly Proceedings, 1844, p. 229.

In 1843, Mr. Middleton, of Torosay [Mull], writes : " In the year 1843 I was treating with Colonel —— about a farm ; and when speaking of the sheep stock upon it, I got a plain enough hint that it might be mine were I to leave off certain divisive courses, as some termed the Free Church movement. But I was enabled through grace to resist, and have had no cause to repent since, either on the score of principle or worldly profit ; for by following the path of duty I have had a clear conscience, and Providence has since prospered me in my worldly circumstances more than during any previous period of my life." *

At Latheron, where the people had stood out against all hostile influence, " the leading heritor, who was highest in rank as well as in zeal for Moderatism, resolved to make one more attempt before yielding. His farm-grieve, who was also manager of his extensive estate, had been with him for a great many years—probably not less than twenty—and on his services he placed the highest possible value ; but he having adhered to the Free Church, it might perhaps be supposed that his example had influenced the other servants and tenants also, so it was resolved to select him for the first assault. One day, therefore, his master called him, and having stated how much annoyed he was that he and all the other servants and tenants had left the good old Kirk, how long they had been together, and how well pleased and satisfied he always had been with him, he added, 'I fear this foolish breach will be the means of separating us, unless you come back to the Kirk ; for it will never do for me and you to be going to different kirks ; so think of it and come with me, and we will continue good friends, as we have always been.' The poor grieve was, of course, taken a little by surprise ; but, being a man of good sense and resolution, as well as firmness, he at length said that he was sorry that his honour—for he was an honourable—had thought of interfering in a matter of this kind ; that they certainly had been long together ; that he felt he had endeavoured to serve him faithfully to the best of his ability, and was willing to do so still ; but that if this was to depend on his

* Disr. Mss. ix. p. 4.

joining the Establishment in its now altered state, he was quite ready, rather than do so, to leave his honour's service at the first term. This decided and suitable reply settled the whole matter, and saved the other servants from being interfered with; for the grieve's services were too valuable to be dispensed with, and he was never again questioned on the subject." *

"Mr. ——, who held an extensive sheep-farm in one of the parishes of Sutherland, was very desirous that all in his employment should adhere to the Establishment. One day in the summer of 1843, when his shepherds had occasion to meet at sheep-washing or sheep-shearing, he rode up to the place, accompanied by his son; and, addressing "the manager," said that he had brought a paper for them all to sign. He was going to a distant part of his farm, and would call for it on his return, when he expected to find that all had signed it. The paper contained the following declaration—"We, the undersigned, adhere to the Established Church of Scotland." † When Mr. —— and his son had left, the manager (an excellent and very intelligent man), addressed the shepherds—"Well, men, I know what I'll do; but don't let me influence you. What do you say? Will you sign?" An emphatic and unanimous "No!" was the reply. "Well, but," continued the manager, "don't you think that it would be more respectful to sign *something*, than to return the paper blank?" and, turning up the other side of the paper, he wrote—"We, the undersigned, adhere to the Free Church of Scotland." This he himself signed first, and then all the shepherds adhibited their names.

When Mr. —— and his son rode back, he asked the manager —"Well, is that paper signed by you all?" "Yes, sir," replied the manager. "We have all signed it, but *on the other side.*" Mr. —— turned the paper round, examined it silently, pocketed it, and rode off without uttering a word. He never afterwards gave the slightest annoyance to any of his shepherds because of their adherence to the Free Church." ‡

* Parker Mss., Paper by Rev. Mr. Davidson, p. 16.

† Then followed the signatures of Mr. —— and his son.

‡ Communicated by the Rev. A. M'Gillivray, Roseburgh, Edinburgh.

Sometimes the interference was not only resisted, but resented as unrighteous. Lord Kinnoull, with whom the fatal Auchterarder litigation originated, was not content with doing battle in the civil courts, but, aided by a zealous factor, he carried the war among his own dependants and day-labourers. The following will illustrate the spirit of the time :—"During the Ten Years' Conflict, Church-defence associations were formed in a great many parishes, one of the objects being to raise funds to meet the expenses of litigation, deputations, &c., needful during the controversy. One of these associations was formed in Aberdalgie, under the direction of the parish minister. This soon reached the ears of the factor, who endeavoured to put a stop to it by threatening with ejection from his lordship's service all who should subscribe to any such fund. The following conversation took place between the factor and the only surviving elder of the parish, as it was reported to the minister by the elder himself:—

*Factor.* I hear the minister is raising money by subscription from the parishioners. Why is he doing this? Into whose pocket does the money go?

*Elder.* I understand it is for the purpose of defraying the expenses of publishing information among the people on the Non-intrusion controversy.

*F.* Do you subscribe to the funds, David?

*E.* Yes, sir, I do.

*F.* Do you know if any of Lord Kinnoull's work-people subscribe to this scheme of the minister?

*E.* Yes, I do; almost all of them are subscribers to it.

*F.* Will you give me their names, as they are not to be allowed to continue in his lordship's employment if they subscribe.

*E.* You can ask themselves, sir, as you have asked me.

*F.* Oh yes, to be sure I can; but it would save me trouble if you were to mention them.

*E.* Am I to understand that because I am a subscriber to the Church Defence Fund, you intimate now to me that I am dismissed from Lord Kinnoull's service?

*F.* Not just yet; I'll give you timely warning of your dismissal.

*E.* Perhaps it will save his lordship and you the trouble of doing so, if I inform you now that it is my intention to leave his lordship's service at next term.

*F.* Oh, very well.

The elder here referred to was house-carpenter to the Earl of Kinnoull, a godly man. . . . The old man died in 1872 at an advanced age, in his native parish of Forgandenny, beloved and respected as a Christian man, and an elder of the Free Church.*

A similar spirit was exhibited in a case which occurred farther south, where conscience was attempted to be overborne. The lady to whom a large part of the parish belonged "had a superior servant as forester, who had been born and brought up on the property, and was the special favourite of her late husband, by whom he was respected and trusted in everything. He had the boldness to join the Free Church. The factor, who knew his worth, came to him, and told him that the step had given the deepest displeasure, and that if he did not return to the Establishment, he would certainly lose his place, her resentment was so great. 'This comes well from her, who is a dissenter herself, and doing more to ruin the Establishment, by building an Episcopalian chapel, than anybody else. But you may tell her, if she thinks I will make a worse servant by trying to be a servant of God according to my own conscience, I am as ready to part with her as she can be to part with me.' He was too good a servant, and too indispensable to the property, to be dismissed. Though all the wonted marks of favour were withdrawn, he was continued in his place."

It must not, however, be supposed that, in all cases, this spirit of hostility failed to reach its victims. John Smith was the Marquis of Bute's head-gardener at Mount Stuart. He was a remarkable man of God, of whom William Burns says, "His memory was sweet to many, and to me also, as I had often enjoyed the solemn privilege of visiting his abode, and being benefited by his heavenly converse and prayers. At the Disruption he was cast out of his situation for following the Free Church. He had held many meetings for prayer at Kilchattan Bay, and when debarred by the factor from the people's houses, he hired a room in the inn, and met them there. He was in the act of beginning one of these meetings when the letter was put into his hands which dismissed him from his place." In

* Disr. Mss. xl.

1846 Mr. Burns found his widow at Rothesay, in a cottage which he had built in the midst of a garden, rented and cultivated in his last days for his support. She was unwell and in difficulties, as her husband had always been open-handed, saying, *the Marquis would not see him want.* Mr. Burns was able to give assistance for the time by handing over "a few pounds" which the people had raised for himself, but which he said he doubted not God intended for her. "She wept as she received it." *

One of the most painful parts of this painful subject was the treatment to which paupers were subjected, in the attempt to use the poor's funds as a means of overbearing their conscience, and forcing them in their helplessness to attend the Established Church. A general statement on this point was made by Mr. Dunlop at the Assembly of 1844:—"It seems that in some instances poor people, influenced by the common sympathy which has been so generally evinced towards the Free Church, have been desirous to share the privilege of contributing their mite—the merest trifle—at the sacrifice of some little thing which they call a luxury, such as tobacco, and thus be enabled to put a halfpenny into the plate on collection day. We do not ask these contributions, by any means, nor do we expect them; but it would be a cruelty to refuse to take anything when offered in the feeling that accompanies them. Well, inquiries are in many cases now instituted, whether or not the poor people give anything in this shape to the Free Church, or to any other congregation with which they are connected, and it has been proposed by the heritors that in any case where a pauper is found to contribute to the Free Church he shall be cut off the roll."†

At Lairg, Sutherlandshire, they fell on an ingenious device. The day of the sacramental fast of the Free Church was appointed as the day for the yearly distribution of poor's money. Few of the paupers attended, and such as did not attend, received no allowance.‡

* See the full account in the Life of Rev. W. C. Burns, pp. 320, 321.

† Assembly Proceedings, 1844, p. 151.

‡ *Witness*, 2nd September, 1843.

Individual cases of refusal and of threats are spoken of as occurring in various parts of the country.

At Gartly, owing to "the hostility of the Duke of Richmond—the sole proprietor of the parish—and his factors, together with the means used by some of the Moderates in the parish, a small minority, but influential in point of worldly status with those who wanted strength of principle, not a few who subscribed their adherence to the Church were induced to draw back." Mr. Robertson mentions the case of "an old woman—a pauper, who was imbecile—she was threatened that if she continued a hearer of the Free Church she would get no allowance from the poor's fund. Well, well, she replied, I'll follow Christ." *

In another locality we are told: "Even the paupers were not thought beneath the arts of some of the heritors. At their meetings, and in the act of administering public funds drawn from all parties, some of them insisted upon knowing whether the poor persons went to the Free Church, and whether they gave anything to its funds, with looks and tones which left a very distinct impression that all in such connection would be deprived of their legal allowance. All the paupers, accordingly, with the exception of a very few, remain in the Establishment. The following fact may be relied upon. It was told by the young woman who is all but silly, yet a real saint withal. The heritors' clerk, who managed the small property on which she usually worked, came to her one day, and said that unless she ceased to attend the Free Church, the work would be taken from her; and not only so, but the aliment from her old widowed bed-rid mother, one of the paupers who lived with her. Her reply was, she could not help them doing what they liked with her mother and her; there was One who would take care of them. One thing only she had to care for, and that was to gang where her Master bid her."

At Errol, Dr. Grierson states: "It is painful to add that there have been instances in which the private gratuities distributed to the poor at the time of Christmas were rigidly withheld from those individuals, however destitute, who attended my ministrations. Their reply was, Well, poor as we are, we

* Disr. Mss. xvii. p. 7.

will not sell our consciences for a peck of meal or a firlot of coals." *

"I felt the utmost indignation, not long ago," says Dr. Begg, "when a devout old woman came into my house and told me the following tale. She said that she and her ancestors had been servants in the family of a nobleman for many generations —she was above seventy—but the other night, said she, I allowed a preacher of the Free Church to come into my house and conduct the worship of God, and next morning, at ten o'clock, I was dismissed from my employment, and I am now houseless and destitute in the world." †

Thus among the very humblest ranks of society the spirit of hostility sought to overbear the consciences of those who seemed to be defenceless. But it is strange to observe how some of the highest and noblest in the land were subjected to similar treatment.

In June, 1845, the Duchess of Gordon wrote: "I believe you judge very truly, that the honour from man I have so long enjoyed and cherished will be much withdrawn." "The penalty for worshipping Christ was no longer to be summoned before the judges, and to be fined like her ancestor, Lady Mary Brodie; but it was to stand on a pinnacle alone, bearing His reproach. To give a single instance: she had a visit from Lord Aberdeen, who, after the controversy had terminated in the Disruption, was most liberal in his own district in granting sites and otherwise, but was naturally vexed at the new position taken by the Duchess. He reasoned with her earnestly on the line of conduct she had adopted; and when his arguments failed, he remonstrated with a warmth unlike the usual amiableness of his disposition, and the extreme courtesy of his manners. But the able statesman mistook his gentle hostess when he hoped to turn her from her course by strong representations, unsupported by convincing arguments. The Duchess felt the interview more keenly than almost any incident that we have ever seen cross her path. But, like the taunt of Methodism in earlier years, it only tended to root her more deeply in her own convic-

* Errol. Disr. Mss. xi. p. 17.

† Assembly Proceedings, 1844, p. 153.

tions, and to make her advance more boldly in the way she had chosen." *

There is a form of trial with which it is difficult to deal —those family divisions, so delicate in themselves, and so painful in their results, which men sought naturally to bury out of sight. From the Mss. we select two cases, in illustration of what was only too common in the land. They occurred in parts of the country far apart from each other; and we not only suppress all reference to names and places, but we shall avoid even the language in which they are recorded.

At a distance from Edinburgh there lived a proprietor, in whose family there was a favourite daughter. Immediately before the Disruption, she had been awakened and brought to the saving knowledge of Christ, under a series of sermons which accidentally, as men would say, she had the opportunity of hearing in an unexpected way. As the minister whose words had reached her heart was one of those who afterwards formed the Free Church, she was naturally led to examine the questions then in debate. After a course of reading and prayerful consideration, she adopted the principles of the Free Church, and resolved to become a member. The announcement of her determination called forth a degree of anger which none could have anticipated. At first, she was cast out of her father's home, and had to take refuge elsewhere. When readmitted, it was to be treated very much as an alien by him who had formerly been one of the fondest of fathers. The distance to the parish church, and also to the Free, was great, so that the family and servants had to drive. She was forbid a place in the family carriage, forbid a place in the conveyance used by the servants; and year after year, in the heat of summer and cold of winter, the strange spectacle was seen of the once-loved daughter walking the long miles on foot, while the father, in his carriage, passed her on the road, and even the servants did not dare to interfere in her behalf. It was in vain that his own relatives, holding his own views on Church matters, remonstrated against such treatment. There was every reason to believe that he most sincerely thought he was doing God service.

* Life, p. 273.

In another widely different district there occurred a yet more painful case. Among the resident landowners was a family who had sent two daughters to be educated in Edinburgh, and on their return, following their conscientious views of duty, they announced their resolution to join the Free Church. This was resisted, and by force they were compelled to attend the Establishment. For a time this went on, but in the case of the younger, the burden lying on her conscience became more than she could bear, and one winter morning she rose in the early dawn, left her home, and went to some relatives, where her sister soon after joined her. Following out their convictions, they became members of the Free Church ; but it was an offence which the mother never forgave. In the course of the following vear she took ill. Her daughters begged humbly and earnestly to be allowed to come home and nurse her, but she was inexorable. The painful disease rapidly ran its course, and she died, never having admitted her daughters into her presence.

In contrast to these painful cases we may notice an incident briefly recorded by Mr. Davidson, of Latheron, Caithness. "For one of the proprietors in the parish I felt very much. He was a widower, and had an only daughter, about fifteen years of age, and when Sabbath came he wished her to accompany him to church to welcome the new minister. This she begged to be excused from doing, assigning as a reason that she did not think they were a right Church at all, after the unfaithful way in which they had acted. So he had to go alone, and she joined us, as did her elder brother also, when he came to the parish." *

There was still another evidence of hostile feeling which we must not leave unnoticed—the attempt to pursue the members of the Free Church even beyond death. "In the winter of 1845," says Mr. Grant, of Ardoch, "we were interdicted from our burying-ground, bought and inclosed with our own money." It seems that the ground being attached to a *quoad sacra* church, an interdict was issued against the right of burial of members of the Free Church. It was noticed that immediately after this prohibition the first two who were buried there were

* Parker Mss., Paper by Rev. Mr. Davidson, p. 15.

the most influential and wealthiest of the party—husband and wife—who had taken out the interdict. *

Those friends of the Establishment in Ardoch who wished to exclude the members of the Free Church from burial did not stand alone in their desire. The following notice of incidents in the parish of Kilmodan (Glendaruel), Argyllshire, will show what sometimes occurred in remote parts of the country, where the power of public opinion could not be brought to bear :—

"In the class of parishes to which mine belonged, it was not till the Disruption was fairly past that the hostility of our opponents reached its full height. Till the event took place, they always laughed to scorn the idea of hundreds of ministers resigning their livings, and even should one here and there, more fanatical than the rest, make the sacrifice, they were just as confident that to maintain a Free Church ministry in places like mine was the wildest of all projects. But when they saw us steadily pursuing our wonted path, not even staggered by the blow which they thought was to annihilate us, and our principles striking their roots deeper and wider everywhere, their wrath knew no bounds. A 'reign of terror' was then

* Coincidences of this kind have been observed in various parts of the country. At Symington, in Ayrshire, the leading heritor "could not bear the idea of a Free Church being established in the parish against his wishes. He therefore used all his influence, and it was not small, to prevent his tenants and others from joining us, and to defeat our purpose in building a new church. But all in vain. The people who had come out, with few exceptions, steadfastly adhered to us, and the church gradually rose towards completion. The Colonel was often heard to say, as the new church rose before his eyes, that he hoped to God he would never hear our bell ring, and he got his wish, for on the very Sabbath on which the church was opened, he was lying a corpse, having died the previous Friday. His health during the latter part of the year had not been good, and it was generally believed in the parish at the time that the vexation and disappointment he experienced in connection with the Disruption had much to do with undermining and injuring it. Be that as it may, it rapidly declined, so that he was lying cold in death on the day our church was opened, and opened, too, by the very man he had interdicted. The Colonel's death made a deep and profound impression in the parish, the people were overawed and solemnised by it, and well do I remember how they used to speak to me of it in private, saying, with bated breath, "It was unco judgment like."—Disr. Mss. xlviii. p. 14.

set up; I speak the words of truth and soberness when I say so." *

Mr. M'Lean goes on to speak of an heritor who "took it at once for granted that, in the emergency which had now occurred, the cure of souls, of which, in his view, I was now stripped, was added to his other duties, *jure devoluto*, as the 'civil magistrate' of the place. And he certainly magnified this odd mixture of offices in many remarkable ways. On one of his warlike rounds of weekly visitation, he came suddenly and unexpectedly on a group of eager inquirers, earnestly discussing the question of the day. Fiercely fixing on a young Free Churchman, who was endeavouring to make good his retreat, as the presumed fomentor of these treasonable practices, he thus addressed him: 'How dare you, sir, speak on such subjects in this glen? I must put them down! The charge of this parish is committed to me as an heritor, a gentleman, and a justice of the peace; and if ever I catch you at this work again, I'll split your head down to the shoulders.' And, suiting the action to the word, he grasped and brandished his heavy-handled whip. I cannot, especially in such short space, do any justice to this scene. The language, however, I give literally as employed, and communicated to me at the time by the youth who, now a respectable teacher in one of our provincial academies, is still ready to bear witness to this and other specimens of the 'reign of terror' in the glen.

"Such being the law and practice of the place, as laid down by its highest authority, 'an heritor, a gentleman, and a justice of the peace,' it was only what might be expected if others were led to employ a mode of argument recommended by such eminent example. And so it was. Not long after, a poor lame lad, a servant of mine, sent by me to superintend the valuation of some furniture which my successor in the manse wished to retain, was, while on that duty, knocked down and trampled on so severely, that he went home, took to his bed, and in a short time died. He told me repeatedly, on his death-bed, that it was for his expressed opinion on the Church question he was assaulted, and that he ascribed his death to the injuries then

* See below, at pp. 187-192.

received. I reported the case to the procurator-fiscal of the district, who came and took a kind of precognition, with which I had every reason to be dissatisfied, neither my presence nor evidence being invited at all! . . .

"One instance more, and I have done. As the drift of what was done was to make the people believe that no spiritual ordinances or privileges were to be had at the hands of Disruption ministers, so, with the same view, the monstrous threat was held out that, the churchyard being heritors' property, they had the power, and would exercise it, of excluding from burial all who seceded from the Established Church. An elder of mine, venerable for his years and gray hairs, singularly amiable and inoffensive in his manners, and highly respected for his guilelessness and worth, was one day musing over the graves of his children, some of whom had grown to manhood, giving fair promise of being the staff of his old age. Suddenly, in the midst of these sad and sacred meditations, the gentleman to whom I have so often alluded came upon him, and had the heart to say, 'Unless you leave that Free Church, I'll take good care that your old bones shall never lie beside those below.' The words are taken down from the old man's lips, literally translated, for he spoke in Gaelic. It was when standing on the very spot that he himself told me the story; and on my remarking that surely the threat was not made in earnest, 'But indeed it was, though, and in rage too,' said the gentle old man; and as he spoke through the quivering smile with which he tried, but failed, to hide the agony in his features, I saw 'the iron enter into his soul.'

"Such are a few of the leading facts in my experience of Disruption times. They are not only truthful, but capable of being substantiated still. They may give some idea of the relentless and unceasing process, applied for years, to waste and wear out our people and our principles. Only a small part, however, has been told; and even in the case of some whose hearts and consciences were with us, but who shrank from the threatened ordeal of 'forsaking all things,' I have witnessed tears of anguish and entreaties to accept a contribution, 'to add their stone to the building of our church,' of which, though

at the distance of ten years, I could not speak more particularly, lest the same vindictive spirit of persecution should be guided even yet [1853] to its prey.

"The worst is now over. We may say 'Forsan et hæc olim meminisse juvabit.' By the good hand of God upon us, that brighter future has already come. . . .

"And even apart from the joyful contrast, not all unpleasant in themselves were those troublous times. In them the Word of the Lord was precious, men's hearts were stirred to their depths, God's quickening Spirit was sent forth, and there were times of refreshing from on high. Thus 'He giveth songs in the night.'" *

* Disr. Mss. lxii. pp. 9-14.

## IX. Hard Work.

It was a happy circumstance that among the outgoing ministers so many were in the vigour of youth, and ready to devote the first and best of their strength to the cause of Christ. It is difficult to give an idea of the toil that was required. Ministers and preachers had gone out, more than 600 strong; but the people seemed at once to recognise the Free Church as the true old Church of Scotland, and the call for the supply of ordinances at her hands rapidly assumed national proportions. A committee was appointed to make arrangements, but the difficulties were great. "The problem," as Dr. Candlish stated in giving in the first report, "was to meet the large and still increasing demand with a greatly inadequate supply; and this explains much of the embarrassment which the Committee has experienced in carrying out the object for which it was appointed. We were working out the insoluble problem of how one loaf of bread was to do the work of two, or how a hundred ministers and probationers were to do the work of two hundred. This was the problem we had to solve; and in the struggle to work it we had to give and take—to withdraw a man here, and send him there, so that, if possible, something approaching to a competent provision might be made for the wants of the adhering population." *

What aggravated the difficulty was the unequal distribution of the ministers who went out. There was one Presbytery—that of Tongue, in Sutherlandshire—in which not a single parish minister remained in the Establishment. There were other Presbyteries—two, for example, in the Synod of Aberdeen—where not a single minister came out. More frequently, one,

* Assembly Proceedings, Glasgow, 1843, p. 167.

two, or three men found themselves burdened with the charge of the parishes of a whole Presbytery or county. Even where the number was greatest, the people who had followed them out naturally claimed a right to their services. The supply of preachers, on the other hand, was utterly inadequate to the demand. In the Synod of Moray there were twelve new congregations demanding supply, but only seven preachers could be sent. In that of Aberdeen there were forty additional congregations, but there were only twenty-five preachers to keep up the services; and in other districts there was a similar deficiency. And what, then, was to be done? Men could not sit still; the fields were white to the harvest. Here was one reward, which had been longed for amid the battling of the Ten Years' Conflict. A great door and effectual was opened up. Cost what it might, the golden opportunity must not fail to be turned to account; and ministers threw themselves into the work, little caring how it might affect life or health. The result was, that the struggle to supply ordinances under such difficulties entailed an amount of exertion which, though little thought of at the moment, sent many a man off the field with shattered health, and consigned others to an untimely grave.

To show the eagerness with which Gospel preaching was welcomed, we may refer to the West of Argyllshire, one of the districts scantily supplied by the Free Church. It was visited by Dr. Begg, who says: "We crossed from Tobermory to the district of Ardnamurchan at a point called Laga. . . . It was mid-day, but the people had nevertheless assembled to hear sermon, some of them having walked fifteen miles. I there saw, for the first time, what I had often read of—a light burning on the hill as we advanced to the place, and, on inquiry, was told that it was to intimate to the people on the opposite side that there was to be sermon; and I saw the boats coming from the opposite shore with people to attend the service. Here was the fiery cross, that used to bring out the Celts to war, now used to bring them out to hear the Gospel of peace. Mr. Stewart, of Cromar, whom we left behind, as we were forced to press on towards Strontian, began the services of the

day; and we heard the solemn sound of the psalmody die away in the distant hills.

"We went to Strontian, where public worship was to take place, and as no previous intimation had been given, it was necessary that means should be taken for summoning the people. As we sailed along the shore, I was much struck with the primitive way in which the intimation was made. A catechist was seated in the boat, and as she brushed along the shore, he cried out in Gaelic, 'Sermon at six o'clock.' This flew from hamlet to hamlet, and a large audience, when the worship commenced, was assembled on the hill. I could not, of course, understand the Gaelic sermon preached by Mr. Maclean, of Tobermory; but one thing I could not fail to observe, that the Spirit of the living God seemed to accompany the Word with Divine power. Not only did the people hang on the lips of the speaker, but they exhibited the deepest emotion. The audience was dissolved in tears, and deep sobs were heard throughout. It was a calm and lovely evening, . . . and I cannot tell how I felt when I stood in that neighbourhood where the Spirit of God seemed to be at work. . . . I shortly spoke to the people, and a venerable patriarch afterwards came forward, and made an address to me in his native tongue, shedding tears as he spoke. That address was interpreted, and the meaning of it was, that he blessed God that he had lived to see the day when the Church of Scotland was taking so deep an interest in her scattered children, and sending men to witness the trials to which they were subjected, with a prayer that all blessings might descend upon the Church and upon us." *

Another who went for a time to labour in the same county—Mr. Campbell, of Berriedale, in Caithness—states his experience: "During the winter and spring of 1843, the work was very heavy, for the excitement caused by the Disruption—the hunger and thirst of the people for hearing the Word—was very great. They were not satisfied with hearing on the Sabbath; we required to preach to them on week-days also, not only in the open air during the day, but at night also in private houses. In the Island of Islay I preached forty times in two weeks. Their

* *Free Church Magazine*, ii. p. 340.

earnestness was the same everywhere, and the opportunity of preaching the Word was remarkable during the whole of that year." *

This state of mind was by no means confined to the Highlands. At Glasgow, Dr. Lorimer states: "On looking back, I often feel that I could not go through the same service again. I am disposed to wonder how I succeeded, and by this very feeling am reminded that it was not in my own strength—that a gracious Sustainer was standing unseen behind." †

Of Mr. Buchan, of Hamilton, it is stated: "At the memorable Disruption he left the Established Church, carrying along with him a large and influential congregation. Nearly another generation has risen up since then, and it is now little known what prodigious efforts he put forth in organising the Free Church within the bounds of his Presbytery. From all sides requests were made to him, and deputations waited on him, that he should take the charge of the congregation in their new and unwonted circumstances—people, elders, precentor, beadle, having seceded, and the sacramental season being near—that he should come and preside on the occasion, and take the superintendence of their affairs. To such appeals he could not lend a deaf ear, . . . and many of the most flourishing congregations within the bounds regard him as their father." ‡

Of Mr. Martin, of Bathgate, it is said, that at the time of the Disruption, and for several years after it, "a very great amount of labour and anxiety was thrown upon him. As clerk to the Presbytery, he had to direct, in a great measure, all the business arrangements connected with the congregations in the district." "Linlithgow, Broxburn, Bo'ness, &c., were all witness to his self-denying exertions in their behalf." As if this were not enough, in the summer of 1844 he undertook deputation-work within the bounds of the Presbyteries of Stranraer and Wigtown. "I left home," he says, "on Thursday, the 16th, reached Stranraer about eight the same evening. . . . In thirteen days I delivered twenty-one addresses or sermons, most of them pretty long; was altogether seventeen days away—

* Parker Mss., Presb. of Caithness. † Disr. Mss. i. p. 10.

‡ *Monthly Record of Free Church*, 1869, p. 185.

travelled very considerably above 400 miles, and at an expense under £3, 3s. I was very jaded when I returned." "It was commonly said of him at that time, 'Mr. Martin is killing himself; he is doing the work of three men.'" * He died at Bathgate, on the 15th of May, 1850, at the age of 48 years.

Even those ministers who were far advanced in life seemed to shake off the burden of years. Dr. Landsborough "had charge of Kilwinning, Stevenston, Saltcoats, and Ardrossan. Every Sabbath he preached three times, and on several occasions he even preached four times. On one occasion, in addition to preaching four times on a Sabbath, he had a short service in a private house, where he baptised a child, whose father was at sea. . . . Dr. Landsborough, although near the close of his sixty-fourth year, showed a strength and endurance —a freedom and power—far exceeding that of any former period of his life. Weary he might be *in* his work, but never weary *of* it. The congregations also were wonderfully large, and the ears of the people were open to hear. . . . They listened as—with the exception of the time of revival—they never had done before." †

In the same way at Ruthwell, "Dr. Duncan felt glad that he was now at liberty to carry the message of peace over borders which had long been to him painfully impassable. Though in his seventieth year, he went every alternate Sabbath evening along the shores of the Solway during summer to preach in the open air to about 200 people in Caerlaverock parish. In Mousewald and Dalton also he had preaching stations, and in each of these parishes we got Sabbath schools placed." "Sure I am that his energy was never greater; his youth seemed to be renewed—his labours were more abundant—and when he returned late and cold from his distant prayer-meetings during that severe winter (1844-45) in the little open gig, he would not allow us to express any concern as if he were exerting himself beyond his strength." ‡

There are some of the narratives, however, which deserve

* Parker Mss., Presb. of Linlithgow. See also Memoir, pp. 118, 125.

† Memoir of Dr. Landsborough, p. 184.

‡ Disr. Mss. xvi. pp. 8, 9.

to be given at greater length. The first is by Mr. M'Leod, of Maryborough, afterwards of Lochbroom.

"Of the increase of labour brought on by the Disruption, in supplying the adhering population in those parishes and districts where the ministers remained in the Establisment, Mr. M'Leod had a large share. During the following months of this summer, and the harvest season of 1843, besides having the charge of two congregations in his own Presbytery, he frequently responded to the almost daily calls from other parts of the country for assistance at the administration of the Lord's Supper; for help and encouragement to the adherents of the Church, specially when the cause was much opposed.

"With other places, he visited Lochaber, and assisted at the memorable communion at Kilmalie, when the congregation worshipped on the sea-shore below flood-mark, under circumstances which, with other incidents of the times, no doubt will be detailed by the much-respected Free Church minister of that congregation.

"After the solemn occasion in this parish was over, and spending some days lecturing in that wide and wild country, when attempts were made in some localities to prevent the adherents of the Free Church meeting at all, even in the open air, he visited, by special appointment of the Home Mission Committee, Badenoch and Strathspey for the first time, and followed up arrangements made by the late Mr. Shepherd, of Kingussie, who was the only minister along the line of the Spey who had left the Establishment.

"By holding meetings in eight of the parishes of that extensive country, where the people, till then, had continued to give such careless attendance as they were in the habit of giving at the parish church, a very general interest was awakened in the cause and principles of the Free Church. One meeting at least was held in each of these parishes daily; and the only Sabbath he had at this time in the country, he met the people on the well-known knowe of Tullochgorum, a central point, where, it was stated in the local papers of the time, upwards of 4000 assembled. . . .

"After being some days with the congregations under his

charge, and meeting several urgent engagements, he was asked to visit Lochbroom, on the west coast. On the 29th of September, he crossed the Dithreabh Mòr, for the first time, on a very dark night of heavy rain, when, under Providence, he owed much of his safety to an old Highland pony, which had been sent to meet him, and was so well acquainted with the hills, burns, and rivers. When his guide and himself failed to make out the path, this sure-footed animal kept its way till after crossing the river Broom, which was greatly flooded, it arrived at the old manse of Lochbroom, where the widow of the late Dr. Ross was still residing. . . .

"Mr. M'Leod preached at Ullapool on the first Sabbath of October, in the open air, and also on Monday, and lectured on the Church question. The extent and physical difficulties of the parish seemed not to interfere with the attendance, for the whole adult population, with few exceptions, indeed, attended—from two to three thousand people. Although it was thought that Monday should have ended the service here, he was obliged to officiate on Tuesday and Wednesday, the people from the districts remaining without a break.

"During the days of this sojourn, it was very manifest that the impressions were very favourable, both as regarded the spiritual interests of the people, and their views of the principles and position of the Free Church. The weeping aloud of several, the abundant tears of many more, the solemn and fixed attention of all, clearly indicated the depth of their feelings."

Mr. M'Leod closes his notes of these and other similar journeys with the significant statement: "In his labours in the West Highlands alone, during the last twenty-one years, he has travelled upwards of 9000 miles in open boats."*

And what the hardships of these journeys often were may be learned from the narrative by his friend, Mr. Sinclair, of Plockton: "The work to be done was almost gigantic. Only a man of Mr. M'Leod's well-knit, stalwart frame, and vigorous, elastic constitution, could have stood for any time the labours he went through, and which many friends in the south would consider incredible. For instance, we have known Mr. M'Leod, in

* Parker Mss., Presb. of Lochcarron, paper by Mr. M'Leod.

returning home after preaching at one of the more remote stations of his charge, forced by stress of weather to pass the night on a bare, insular, uninhabited rock of the sea, on a rainy October night, with little food, without fire, no better shelter than the 'oilskins' of his crew, and no better mattress than their jackets, which the brave, loving fellows could ill afford to want. We have accompanied him in his good boat on a Sabbath morning in the month of June, from his manse in Ullapool to one of his distant stations. The wind turned contrary, and it was 4 o'clock P.M., instead of 12 noon, when we arrived at the appointed place; the 'dear people,' as he himself invariably called them, patiently waiting our arrival, and as patiently waiting for two hours after that in the open air, till the services of the day were over. It was 10 o'clock at night ere we got back to Ullapool." *

Not less remarkable is the statement by the Rev. Eric Findlater, of Lochearnhead:—

"As to my own personal privations, as it does not become me, so I am unwilling, to speak of them. I had youth and good health on my side, and, I trust, the approbation of a good conscience in the part I took. Suffice it to say, that during the year of the Disruption I was seldom three nights running in the same bed; and I recollect of having made a calculation at this time of having travelled in my gig or on horseback about 1800 miles in about eighteen months; but you, who know how wide the districts were in which I had to officiate, will not be surprised at this. My chief regret in those days was, that I could not carry on anything like systematic study. When I now look back upon the variety of places in which I officiated, it looks more like romance than reality. Again and again on the bare hillside, in that winter of 1843-44, the Sabbath-days of which were unprecedentedly fine; often under the precarious shelter of a canvas tent; on one occasion at Durness it was rent from top to bottom by a squall in the middle of the service; at times in the shelter of a stone dyke; sometimes from a wooden tent or box; at other times in a cottage, having a fire in the centre and the people grouped round it; at other times

* *Free Church Monthly Record*, August, 1871.

in a gravel-pit. On one occasion in a cave in the island of Raasay, on another on a hill-top, again in a large barn, and once on board one of Her Majesty's cruisers, with the Bible placed on the flag of Old England. But always in those years it was to large and attentive audiences.

"Some odd circumstances occurred. I remember my horse, in his love for the clover of the glebe at Durness, where he was bred, gave me the slip in Assynt, and travelled a distance of thirty miles before he was overtaken. I had to spend a whole winter evening in the same room in a public-house with an Established Church probationer; and I suppose both of us would have preferred any other society. I had to exchange civilities with factors who would avoid me as they would the plague, because they knew I was often engaged in drawing out petitions to the Duke for sites. I had to perform ordinances while wet to the skin, after riding perhaps fourteen miles, and having no possibility of changing my clothes. And I remember on two occasions how the same idea crossed me. One of these was on a cold night, in the house of a Gaelic schoolmaster; the curtains were but thin, and the window but poorly supplied with glass. The other was while eating oatcake and milk out of an iron spoon in a smith's house in Mull, after preaching two sermons. There was a slate hung up on the wall with the honest man's accounts jotted on it, and, among other items, one struck my fancy—viz., 'To putting a ring in ——'s pig's snout.' I could not choose but think on both these occasions on the luxurious tables I had but a year previously been a guest at—the rich hangings, the gildings, plate, and company. Yet I believe I can say, without ostentation, that my sleep was as sound, and my enjoyment of my plain fare as great, on these occasions, as when reposing on down, or associating with nobility; and that I did not grudge the sacrifice." *

But while youth and strength were able to withstand such pressure, there were numerous cases in which health suffered, and life itself was endangered. Dr. M'Gilvray, of Aberdeen, then of Glasgow, writes:—"During the last year of the struggle, and the first of the Disruption, he visited the

* Disr. Mss. lvi.

counties of Argyll, Wigtown, and Perth, for the purpose of explaining the principles [of the Free Church], and was the means of securing the adhesion of great numbers to the cause. To some of the remotest of these places, such as Islay, Arran, and Kintyre, he travelled in the dead of winter, holding meetings every day at different points, exposed to all the hardships and discomforts peculiar to these bleak and stormy districts. Owing to the opposition of lairds and factors, the meetings were mostly held in the open air, sometimes on the public highway, and sometimes on the bare sea-beach; and more than once he had to address them with wet clothes drying on his back, and his feet sunk to the ankles in snow. . . .

"His congregation was one of the few which suffered no loss by the Disruption. . . . But the case was different with himself. In consequence of the heavy labours and self-denying sacrifices connected with the Disruption year, along with personal and family afflictions of no ordinary kind, his health became seriously impaired, and he was at last seized with an attack of fever, which proved nearly fatal. As he was slowly recovering from the state of prostration to which he was reduced at this period, he was asked by the Colonial Committee to go out as a deputy to Canada for six months; and hoping that the sea-voyage and change of climate might have some effect in restoring his exhausted energies, he accepted the appointment, and set out on his colonial mission in September, 1846." *

So, also, it is said of Mr. Nairn, of Forgan, Fifeshire, that when the Disruption came he saw the path of duty clearly, and took it without hesitation. But the bodily fatigue and mental anxiety that he underwent at that period, in forming and fostering Free Church congregations in the parishes adjoining his own, so injured his health that he was obliged to resign his charge.†

Thus health and strength, in not a few cases, gave way, and instances are referred to in the Disruption Mss. in which life was sacrificed. It is remarkable to observe how little disposition there is to make much of such stories of toil, and exposure,

* Parker Mss., Presb. of Glasgow.

† *Free Church Record*, August, 1873, p. 169.

and death. What can be more simple than an entry such as this:—"Mr. Gordon, of Edderton, had to remove with his family to Tain, a distance of five miles, as no dwelling could be got in the parish. In 1847 his last illness was incurred by over-fatigue and exposure on his third preaching tour that year in the remote Highlands. He returned home on the 20th November, became ill on the 25th, and lingered on till August." *

In terms similarly brief we are told that in the Presbytery of Stranraer five ministers, with a preacher (sometimes two), had to supply ten congregations. "These duties caused much exhaustion to all the ministers. To this may be ascribed the acceleration of the death of Mr. Lamb." †

Much has been said, even by adversaries—in many cases, perhaps too much—of the money sacrifices of the Free Church, which bulked so largely in public view. If the full history of the toil and struggle of those years could be told, it would be seen that in many a home there were results beside which mere pecuniary loss was of small account. It was happy to work and contend in the cause of Christ; but the above extracts will show at what cost it was often done. "The Disruption was a necessity of conscience which the providence of the Church's Head had made inevitable, and out of which He has in various ways brought unthought-of good. . . . Yet the excitement and labours, as well as the anxieties and hardships, consequent on the great change of circumstances, brought premature age on many of the most devoted ministers, cutting some of them off in the prime of life, and forcing others to remove from loved and loving flocks to lighter spheres of work." ‡ Something, in short, of the martyr-spirit was needed to meet the difficulties of that time. Men had not only to spend, but to be spent, for Christ.

* Parker Mss., Presb. of Tain.

† Parker Mss., Presb. of Stranraer.

‡ Memorials of the Rev. C. Macintosh, p. 58.

## X. Trials of Ministers.

In many a manse the anxieties of the weeks that preceded the Disruption formed by far the severest trial to which ministers were subjected. During previous controversies there had risen up a feeling of chivalrous devotedness to the cause of the Established Church, and nothing could exceed the reluctance with which men contemplated the abandonment of their position. But a still greater difficulty was the fear that only a mere handful of people would stand by them when the final step was taken. It was loudly proclaimed that Government had a healing measure in preparation; and as the decisive moment drew near, there appeared in some quarters ominous signs of a disposition to hang back, as if congregations were shrinking from the burden of ministerial support. In many parishes the prospects of the outgoing ministers were of the gloomiest kind.

"I am, perhaps, more faithless than some of my brethren," says Mr. Martin, of Bathgate; "but I certainly expect much suffering in connection with our future position." *

Mr. Walker, of Dysart, writes: "I remember a son of Mr. Proudfoot, of Culter, telling me that he was walking as a boy with his father, shortly before the Disruption, when they stopped to speak to a man by the roadside. The conversation turned upon what was coming, and young Proudfoot heard his father calmly say that he had no expectation of being able to remain with his congregation (an entirely rural one), and that his thoughts were directed to seeking employment in Canada, or in some office at home. The man remonstrated, and the talk then took the shape of discussing how much it might be

* Memoir, p. 115.

possible for the minister and his large young family to live upon—the issue being, that Mr. Proudfoot thought that he might be able to remain if he could be secure of an income of £80 a-year. Culter is one of the prettiest parishes in the Upper Ward, and the manse is in one of its sweetest nooks. One can imagine, therefore, the greatness of the quiet pressure which was brought to bear upon its minister (himself a man of the Nathanael-Paterson type of mind) when he could calmly contemplate the surrender of so much of what made life attractive for him, and the burying himself during the remainder of his days in a counting-room."

At Yester, Dr. Thomson, now of Paisley, describes the difficulties of his position. "The very paupers—old, helpless women—were threatened with the loss of their weekly allowance if they left the parish church; and a system of terrorism was employed by farmers and others against their workmen and servants. In all this Lord Tweeddale had no share, for he had been absent about a year in Madras as Governor. Still, there were those who wielded territorial influence in a way which, if he had known of it, he would have strongly repudiated and effectively prevented. Then, too many of the people clung to the hope that Parliament would yet pass a measure which might satisfy the Church; and others even expressed the wish that the ministers would remain at their posts.

"This made the prospect very dark, especially as even those who turned out to be the most staunch in their adherence to principle refrained from saying what they would do if the crisis came, and left their ministers in doubt. . . . All this was very depressing and discouraging to us, and our prospect not merely of future support, but of future usefulness, seemed dark.

"As an illustration of our state of feeling, I may mention the following incident. About a month or two before the Disruption, the late Principal Fairbairn, then minister of Salton, four miles distant from Yester, called at my manse. We had a long walk and conversation as to our future prospects. He asked me whether I thought that many of my people would come out. I said that I thought very few would—certainly not above fifty, but that if even fifty came out, I would remain

as their minister; if not, I had made up my mind to emigrate to America. I then asked him if many of the Salton people were likely to come out.. He replied that the patron had told the congregation that if he came out they should have the choice of a successor, and the hostile influence was so strong that he did not expect any at all. 'The fact is,' he added, 'they will just say, when they see me leaving the manse, He was a good sort of man, Mr. Fairbairn; it's a pity he gaed awa'.'" *

It was in the face of such prospects that men had to make up their minds. They must walk by faith—there was no alternative. They literally "went out, not knowing whither they went." This was none the less true that the moment the decisive step had been taken the tide at once turned, and popular sympathy rapidly rose and flowed. After that conversation with Professor Fairbairn, Dr. Thomson goes on: "What was our surprise, when the Disruption actually occurred, to find that in his parish, out of a population of 800, he had an adherence of 600, and in my parish of 1050, there were 830 members and adherents of the Free Church. We never expected anything of the kind, and we could only say, The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad." †

One thing not easily borne in some cases was the interference of friends who held opposite sentiments, and anxiously sought to prevent ministers from joining the Free Church. "I was exposed," says Mr. Robertson, of Gartly, "to many temptations to remain in the Establishment from the remonstrances of worldly friends and relatives, who insisted that at my advanced years, and having such a numerous family, it would be anything but duty to expose myself to the privations I must endure, and bring my family to ruin. The patron of the parish, too, declined till the eleventh hour to listen to any applications made to him for the living, in the hope that I might be induced to change my mind, and accept a new presentation. I had a communication from a friend in London intimating this to me, and beseeching me, for the sake of my wife and family, to write the Duke of Richmond immediately, or allow him to apply for me, that he might present me anew to the living I had resigned." ‡

* Disr. Mss. lvii. † *Ibid.* ‡ Disr. Mss. xv. p. 4.

So also at Errol, Dr. Grierson states: "The amount of personal attachment manifested to me on all hands was very gratifying, but on the part of many it showed itself rather by the preposterous though combined attempt to induce me to remain in the Establishment, than by anything like a readiness to follow me out of it." *

Mr. Grant, of Ayr, was appealed to in a different way. "After the Disruption took place, the clerk of the Established Presbytery of Ayr wrote me a formal letter, to the effect that the Presbytery had heard that I had signed the Deed of Demission, and joined the Free Church, and intimating that unless I appeared at next meeting of Presbytery my name would be deleted from the roll of ministers. A few days later, the clerk, an old and respected minister of the Moderate school, and a man of very genial and kindly disposition, ran across the street, grasped my hand, and apologised for sending me that letter, on the ground that he was obliged to do so in his official capacity. I assured him that I had understood it so, and had no occasion to be offended. 'But,' said he, 'you will come back, and withdraw your name, and it will be all right again.' I told him I would not do so. I still remember the strange feelings with which I heard the old man urge me to withdraw from my position, saying, 'It is all very well for Drs. Chalmers, Candlish, &c., to hold to their position. They have publicly committed themselves, but you have not.' I looked at the old man with amazement, but seeing the real kindliness of his eye, I could not find it in my heart to utter the words that were in my mouth—Is there, then, no such thing as religious principle?" †

When Dr. Duncan, of Ruthwell, went to attend the Assembly in 1843, he was followed to Edinburgh by a petition which evidently gave him some annoyance. The parishioners thought "that, as he had been presented by a patron, their call on him thus to remain would turn his, at least, into a popular settlement. It was believed to be urged on under the influence of a neighbouring minister, who having turned back himself would have been glad of countenance. . . . The reply was rather

* Disr. Mss. xi. p. 3. † Disr. Mss. xli. pp. 3, 4.

brief, expressing surprise and disappointment that, after all his efforts to enlighten them, they should not see that not only his duty but theirs was to quit the Establishment, which secular legal encroachment had made no longer the Church of our fathers." "It is well meant," he himself says in referring to it, "although very injudicious, and I am sorry to see that there are so many who have so little apprehension of the real merits of the question or of the position which I have conscientiously taken up." *

The pressure of private appeals was still sorer to bear. Only let the reader conceive what the feelings were with which such a letter as this was read in a far-off country manse. It came from one who held a prominent place in the legal and political circles of Edinburgh :—"I now once more, ere it be too late, address you on the painful subject of this, in my humble opinion, most inconsiderate and fatal step which you are about to take, to the ruin of my sister and your children." The writer then goes into an argument, strongly expressed, and, from his own point of view, well put, against Free Church principles :—"You know my opinion of the leaders, . . . and to what extent pious men have been made dupes of. The prospects of the secession with respect to pecuniary matters, I also know, are delusive; and whatever a few of the popular preachers, as they are called, may make of it in towns, you and other quiet country clergymen will be very soon thrown overboard. I therefore implore you to have done with this. I write all this in very sincere sympathy for your wife and children, whom I think you are, without honest cause, deserting and leaving to certain ruin. . . . If my poor father and mother had been alive, you may figure what they would have felt on seeing their daughter, who was always accustomed to ease and competency, thus thrown adrift on the wide world, with a large family and the burden of increasing years. I cannot bear to think of it, or bring my mind to believe it. But I can only conclude by saying that if I thought your course was honourable in pursuing the phantom of independence, I would not ask you to desert it, even with the fatal consequences which must ensue, and the extent of which

* Memoir of Dr. Duncan, p. 300.

it is impossible to foresee." Quietly and calmly, in the face of this, the path of duty was followed; and to the praise of God's goodness it should be told that to the upright there arose light in darkness, and that the blessing which follows the seed of the righteous has not been withheld.

That diminished incomes should lead to many privations was only what men had looked for. In the nature of things it could not otherwise be. They had counted the cost. There now lies before us a pale note, written in pencil in Tanfield Hall on the 18th of May, posted after the Assembly broke up, and carefully treasured for these thirty years by her who received it. "My own beloved and disinherited wife," it begins, "the deed has been done! We are now sitting in the hall of our new Assembly, with feelings of the deepest solemnity, and yet holy joy and unutterable peace;" and so the sentences run on, traced by one who took a prominent part in the discussions of that day. Disinherited, indeed, they felt themselves to be, —except that they had respect to the better inheritance.

It was natural at the same time, that anxious thoughts should rise in the new homes of ministers as the months went on, and it became a question where the support of wife and children was to be obtained. From Blairgowrie we have the following reference to the Glasgow Assembly:—"We had been led to expect that by that time the ministers would have some idea of what their income from the Sustentation Fund might be; therefore, there was some little disappointment felt by those at home when, in the letters received from Mr. Macdonald, there were constant references to some scheme which he was planning for the building of schools, and providing for our outed teachers, but not a single word as to the provision to be made for the ministers' wives and children. Just at this time a lady called—one of those kindly disposed friends who had remained in the Establishment. After talking about indifferent matters, she said, 'Really, Mrs. Macdonald, your husband did very wrong in leaving the Church. He should have given it up. It is all very well to talk of making sacrifices, but when a man has a wife and family to provide for it will not do. You cannot keep a house, and servant, and child

on nothing, and we hear that all you are to have is £40 a-year.' Mrs. M.'s heart almost failed her as she saw in prospect the hard struggle that awaited them; but, concealing her feelings, she replied: 'Well, my husband took the step in faith at the call of duty, and although it were again in his choice, he would just act as he has done. We are trusting in God for our supplies, and He that sent the ravens to feed Elijah can equally provide for us. We did it in faith, and will, without doubt, be cared for.' There was not much agreement with these views, and soon after the lady left; and no time was allowed to pass till a letter was wending its way to Glasgow, saying: 'You are always speaking about some scheme for raising money for schools, but you have never yet told us what is to be the dividend, and Mrs. —— has been telling us that we are only to have £40 a-year. Be sure and write, for we cannot think how we shall manage on that.' Next post brought the reply: 'Let my good wife take courage. We are to have £40, not for the whole, but for the half-year; and He that hath provided this will give all else that is needed." *

That the ministers of country charges were the greatest sufferers was obvious on all hands, and yet few things are more remarkable than the generous and chivalrous spirit in which those who had wealthy town congregations willingly took their share in the privations of their brethren. At St. George's, Edinburgh, during the ministry of Dr. Candlish, the money raised for Church purposes reached, on an average, upwards of £7000 a-year. In 1843 the Deacons' Court resolved to make the annual income of their minister £400—their opinion being, that for a man placed as Dr. Candlish was, with many demands on his hospitality and otherwise, a stipend of £400 a-year was a very moderate and reasonable one. This Dr. Candlish declined, telling them that until time revealed what was in store for his brethren in the ministry throughout the Church, he would accept only £300 a-year [without a house] as minister of St. George's.†

At Greenock, the stipend of Dr. M'Farlan was £780—said to be the largest at that time in the Established Church.

* Disr. Mss. lv. p. 12.

† History of St. George's, by D. Maclagan, Esq., pp. 95, 96.

It had been cheerfully resigned, and after the Disruption, his income—without a house—averaged £317; involving an annual sacrifice of £463.

In Glasgow, the incomes of the ministers had all along been barely adequate, and after the Disruption, therefore, the change was the more felt. Dr. Lorimer states that in his case "his stipend was much short of what it used to be—hitherto [1846] the diminution has been from £150 to £160 a-year."*

If it was thus in towns, there were greater privations which had to be submitted to in the country. At Errol, Dr. Grierson says: "In reference to temporal emoluments, I have to observe that the amount now is not one-half of what it was formerly."†

Of Mr. Dickie, of Dunlop, it is stated that "at the Disruption he saw no prospect before him but to quit the scene of his ministry altogether, from the scantiness of the population. Yet never for one moment did he hesitate. No one cast in his lot more cheerfully, and few surrendered more than he—for taking the difference of his former and after stipend, he sacrificed not less than £150 a-year for the cause; and if the sum be reckoned up for the twenty years that have followed, it gives £3000 as the contribution of one man. Yet no one ever heard him complain, and never did one feeling of regret take possession of his mind."‡

How such a change of circumstances affected ministers and their families may be shown by a few examples. In the Establishment Dr. Landsborough's stipend had averaged above £350, including manse and glebe—being higher than three-fourths of the parishes in Ayrshire. The first year after the Disruption it was £105 without a house, and for several years it did not average more than £120, though still he had no manse. Previously he had derived about £100 from private means, which of late had been gradually reduced to little more than half. . . . For long he had made it a rule to give away £50 yearly—thus dedicating to the Lord an eighth part of his income. Now he gave in the same proportion as before, though he could not give to the same amount. . . . One of the two

* Disr. Mss. i. p. 5. † Disr. Mss. xi. p. 13.

‡ *Record of Free Church*, November, 1863, p. 319.

valued domestics, who had been long in his service, must be parted with. *The pony and cow must be sold!"* *

Dr. Duncan, of Ruthwell, had been accustomed to a phaeton for himself and family. He at once gave it up, and, at seventy years of age, prepared to do the work of his parish on foot. The gift of a low gig, exempt from taxation, presented to him by his brother, in part relieved him. †

That the privations which such straitened circumstances involved must often have been severely felt is obvious, and there is no pretence of indifference to such trials on the part of ministers. One thing was especially painful—the impossibility of obtaining for the children of the manse the education which their parents would fain have given them. Of these things little is said in most of the Mss., but Mr. Robertson, of Gartly, expresses what many others must, to some extent, have experienced: "My altered circumstances prevent me from educating my children as I would wish, and deprive me in my old age of many comforts which I enjoyed when a younger man, and expose my family to privations which, I trust in the Lord's sovereign hand, will prove blessings in disguise. . . . By the Lord's goodness, my state of health since the Disruption has been, upon the whole, better than for many years before, though for some months past [1846], owing to my labouring somewhat above my strength during the summer and autumn months, my want of means for keeping a horse, and other causes, I have felt my strength much exhausted." ‡

Apart, however, from pecuniary loss, there were other circumstances which were hard to bear. Sometimes the trial came in the form of contemptuous treatment, in quarters where ministers had been accustomed to receive consideration and respect. "I was exposed to many indignities," Mr. Dodds, of Humbie, states, "from many quarters." The particulars he refrains from giving, but Dr. Grierson, of Errol, one of those ministers whose years and standing entitled him to the highest regard, goes more into detail. "I am sensible that I have incurred the loss of a considerable share of social respect and influence,

* Memoir, pp. 187, 181. † Disr. Mss. xvi. p. 6.
‡ Disr. Mss. xvii. pp. 5, 6.

especially among the wealthiest classes in the community. . . . In one instance I have been explicitly and absolutely refused admittance under the roof of one of the principal families, whom I have frequently visited in affliction, although my known and acknowledged object was to meet with one or two of the servants who belonged to my congregation, and to whom it was my duty to pay a ministerial visit." *

Sometimes the gentlest natures were subjected to the rudest treatment. No minister in the Church was more conspicuous than Dr. Landsborough for the inoffensiveness and meekness of the Christian character. Yet he must take his share of the indignities which were then common. "He was one day seen scanning the houses in Saltcoats more carefully than usual. A well-known gentleman accosts. 'Mr. L., you seem to be looking about you more than is your wont.' 'Yes,' was the reply; 'I am looking for a house for myself and family.' 'Oh, in that case,' said he, 'I know one that will exactly suit you.' 'Where is it?' asked Mr. L. 'Bedlam,' was the insulting answer, as the gentleman moved off."†

Such expressions of hostile feeling were not always confined to words. At Aberdour, on the coast of Fife, they took tangible shape. "The congregation had to worship for a time in the open air, near the sea-side. They had difficulty in obtaining a site, in consequence of the opposition of the Earl of Moray's commissioner, Mr. Ainslie, who prevailed with two proprietors not to grant ground, and bought a third piece to hinder the Free Church from getting it. Subsequently, after the church was built, and a manse for the minister was nearly completed, the same Mr. Ainslie caused a dead wall to be built of stone and lime close up to the manse, and as high as the top of the highest windows, thus darkening the house—the windows being chiefly on that side for the sake of the view—and rendering it uninhabitable till windows were opened on the other side. This wall, which obtained the *soubriquet* of 'Claverhouse Tower,' was removed by Mr. Ainslie's successor. A lithograph of it was taken, and it gave occasion to '*ane ballant.*'" ‡

* Disr. Mss. xi. pp. 13, 14. † Memoir, p. 182.

‡ Parker Mss., Presb. of Dunfermline.

But, leaving these individual incidents, let us take the experience of Mr. M'Lean in the parish of Kilmodan (Glendaruel), Argyllshire, in order to show how strong the contrast often was between a minister's position *before* and *after* the Disruption.

"When that now memorable event, the Disruption, began to cast its shadow before it, I was the happy pastor of a peaceful Highland parish. The population did not exceed a hundred families, sweetly located along the sides of a valley—all, with a single exception, firmly attached to the Church of their fathers, and all so easy of access that a few days of active visitation could overtake the whole. Grouped prominently together, in this pleasant field of ministerial labour, are seen the manse with its garden, and the Church with its grave-yard. On every side, hills rise abruptly to a considerable height; while above the blue vault seems to rest all round on their summits, and to roof in the whole scene. "Faultless is the glen, but for the difficulty of getting in and out," says an old Gaelic proverb of the place; and though the perfect roads and bridges of modern times have removed the implied complaint of the rough passes, and even changed them into the chief beauties of the district, the old proverb graphically pictures the ruling feature still—peculiarly isolated and lovely seclusion. A slow stream, well-known to the lovers of "old Isaak's" craft, winds in silvery links along the plain; at first through fragrant meadows and fertile fields, then, seeking through a narrow outlet the shade of rich woodland, it wanders, "at its own sweet will," round fairy knolls clothed with lovely copse, or by giant crags crested with sombre pines, till at last it issues into light only to lose itself for ever in a little arm of the sea—one of those exquisite recesses between woods and streams and heathery precipices, which add such a charm to our western shores. Across the entrance to this lake, and securing a calm within, stretches a noble breakwater of rocky islets, one of which, the innermost, crowned with the ruins of a castle, possesses not only, like the rest, the charm of picturesque beauty, but the romantic interest of old historic association. It was alongside of it that, trusting to the intricacy of the rocky labyrinth which the king's frigates would have to thread before they could reach him the

noble patriot Argyle moored his little squadron, in that unfortunately premature expedition, which, had it been as successful as it was disastrous, would have spared our country the worst of our "killing time," saved from a bloody death many of her noblest and best, and anticipated by some years the blessings of the glorious Revolution.

"Such were the external attractions of this quiet retreat, while, not less peaceful, and still more endearing, were the relations between pastor and people, from the highest to the humblest. And in these circumstances, so pleasing to my tastes, suited to my capacity, and satisfactory to my ambition, with a numerous family besides, all of us literally dependent on the benefice as our sole means of support, to imperil all, hastily or on light grounds (as we are sometimes accused of having done), to sacrifice it from any motive short of the inexorable constraint of conscience, would have been a folly, a sin, and a shame.

"Such a constraint did, in the sovereign providence of God, unmistakably come. And if in ordinary circumstances and peaceful times my position was so eminently desirable, as I have described it, it was certainly about the very last one would have chosen for the conflict in which we were now to engage. In a parish leavened with "Moderatism" from time immemorial, not a village, not a feu even, within its bounds, and the whole resident influence decidedly hostile—such was the field on which we stood forth at the stern call of duty, set up the banner God had given us, and displayed it, "because of the truth."

"In these circumstances, I spared no pains from the first in publicly plying the people with week-day lectures on the great question at issue; but I could never bring myself to deal privately and personally with them, never asking even my elders what part they purposed to take in the approaching Disruption. . . . And so it was, that even so late in the day as the "Convocation," I did not know, on going to that meeting of a single individual prepared to take the step to which I then pledged myself. The lowest ebb, however, was the turning point of the tide; and it flowed from that time forward. It

was known what I had done, and it was not doubted that I would redeem my pledge. On my return home, a written assurance was sent me from *all* my elders—six in number, and none of them appointed during my incumbency—that, come what might, the session would remain unbroken. The great mass of the people, too, adhered, their understandings and their hearts owning the identity of the principles expounded to them with those embodied in our Standards, and inseparably interwoven with the eventful history of our Church. All now gave good promise that, under God's blessing, these principles had taken deep root in the land."

Referring to the severe treatment to which he and his people were exposed, Mr. M'Lean supposes that a question may arise, whether it was "not provoked on our part by indiscretion or violence. Such is always the persecutor's apology. But it was not so. For the people, I can testify there are none more peaceably disposed anywhere, or more deferential to their superiors in all things lawful. And for myself, I will call a witness whose testimony here is conclusive. The gentleman, whom I may call the author and manager of the persecution in the Glen, the proprietor of more than one-half of the parish, called on me on the eve of the Disruption, and asked me, seemingly much affected, if there was no alternative, but that I must "go out." Nothing, he said, had ever so grieved him as the thought that such might be the case. He was on all sides congratulated on its being a model parish, educationally, as well as otherwise, under my auspices, and he had hoped for himself and his children long to enjoy the blessing of my ministry. He was pleased to say so, and much more which I will not repeat. But, finding that he had failed in the main object of his visit, he forgot all this; and from that day forth he exerted himself to the very utmost when we became houseless to keep us so, and have us exterminated altogether as a nuisance from the district. Even on his own showing, however, he could "find no occasion against us, except concerning the law of our God." . . .

"I pass on to the period of the Disruption in which I had the honour of bearing my humble part as a member of Assembly.

So confident was I of that event being inevitable, that, notwithstanding all the arts of those "lying in wait to deceive," I had, before leaving home, sold off all the stock and implements of a valuable glebe; and now, on my return, with those things out of the way, we at once set about packing furniture and preparing for instant removal. We had just finished our heavy task by Saturday evening. On Sabbath the church was to be preached vacant, while I was to address my flock on the green in front of the manse. On Monday morning we were to bid a final farewell to the sweet spot, and proceed to a temporary home, mercifully opened to us in a neighbouring parish, when unexpectedly (at this hour) a deputation of the heritors was announced. They found me pondering all these things in a dismantled apartment, and amid the heart-sickening desolations of an uprooted home. Without one softening word of sympathy, to their object they went hard and straight. And it was this—that either I should not preach at all on the morrow, or go away somewhere out of sight and hearing, lest I should disturb the feelings of the reverend gentleman who was to preach in the church and declare it vacant! This modest request, though little careful of my feelings, was certainly most considerately tender towards his. He had inducted me to the charge, introduced me to the congregation, held our principles all along till he must needs suffer for them, solemnly pledged himself to them at the Assembly of 1842, and at the Convocation of the same year; and now, having deserted the cause, he was the man whom its enemies delighted to honour in dealing the *coup de grace* to an old friend!

"Many a solemn and touching scene did those trying times make us acquainted with. I am not sure, however, but that the Sabbath meeting on the green was the most trying of all in my experience. Not only did most trying circumstances, inseparable from such a meeting, concur to impart to it a deep and painful interest, but special care was taken to produce the impression among the people that, if I ventured to preach, measures were all ready and constables at hand for my forcible removal. More than this, a most friendly note from a non-resident heritor was handed to me at the eleventh hour, advis-

ing me, for my own sake, to yield the point, as he understood they were fully resolved to proceed to extremities. Reluctantly declining the kind counsel, however, and entirely disregarding the threats, I felt it to be my duty to take my stand there; and there, accordingly, in the presence of my persecutors, who kept walking round about us, speaking loudly within earshot, and with significant looks, I conducted public worship, with such emotions as I may never feel again; while my poor flock, apprehensive every moment of what might happen, sat closer and closer together, like a fluttered covey when the hawk sails overhead. Further than this, however, we were not disturbed on this occasion, an interdict not having been obtained—just as I had calculated upon—till the vacancy was declared.

"I shall not dwell on our "quitting the manse." Monday came, with all the dreary accompaniments of such a "flitting" as ours. Nearly twenty carts mustered on that morning—not all actually needed, perhaps, but not the less tokens of their owners' sympathy and respect. In silence and with subdued air, like men on solemn and affecting duty, each took his allotted share of the *disjecta membra* of our home, and formed into line. Our six children, the oldest just eight, wondering what the doing of the day might mean, took their places in the rear; and all things being now ready, we quenched our hearth, took a last look through the deserted apartments, sounding strange to us already with their "echo and their empty tread," and, having turned the key in the door of our once happy but now desolate dwelling, slowly and sadly the long procession moved on. Immediately, by the hands of a messenger-at-arms, a farewell shot was fired after us in the shape of a very formidable interdict, which, fortunately for me, would not, as I have said, go off till after the Sabbath. Another discharge soon followed from a reverend doctor, the clerk of Synod, in the form of a summons for some five days' rent, which time, he alleged, though incorrectly, we had tarried in the manse beyond the legal period. I notice these as specimens of the sharp practice to which we were exposed from more quarters than one.

"In recording this succession of depressing experiences, it would be deep ingratitude to forget the many mercies and

tokens for good from our Heavenly Father, by which these were alleviated. "He stayeth the rough wind in the day of His east wind." It was an unspeakable blessing to be sustained and cheered, instead of being weakened and hindered, as it might have been, by *her* on whom a full share of the heavy burden fell, and of whom I will say no more—less I scarcely could say—than that throughout, whether in doing or suffering, it was nobly suffered and nobly done. Streaks of light, too, in God's good time, began to appear in the horizon, giving hopeful promise that the darkest hour was past. Shortly previous to the crisis, with no prospect of accommodation in the district for my family, I fully expected to be separated from them by a long distance and for a considerable time, when, unsolicited, a farm-house, providentially vacant for a season, was placed at my disposal by a noble-minded benefactor of the cause. More than that, he gave me not only a house, but a church also, which he had built for his tenantry in that neighbourhood; and they welcomed me to be their pastor with a cordial call. Nor was this all. In the Glen, which still engaged my chief interest, a suitable site was obtained, and steps taken for the erection of a church. An elder of mine possessed a small property, completely surrounded by wide territories, on which we dared not have set foot for God's worship, no, not even on their lone heathery fells; and there, in a spot suggestive of the sweet description of the Psalmist, "We found a place for the Lord, we found it in the fields of the wood." There, till we could "go into His tabernacles," we worshipped on His footstool, the green earth, heaven alone our canopy, and He whose throne it is, our glory and defence. These my two congregations being ten miles apart, and it being desirable, for a time at least, that they should have regular supply, in Gaelic and English, I travelled twenty miles and preached four sermons every Sabbath for two summers. My hearers had increased in numbers, instead of being diminished, by the Disruption; while a mere handful was left in both parishes in connection with the now Erastianised Establishment.*

* Disr. Mss. lxii. See The Trials of the People, described *ante*, pp. 162-165.

Of the spirit in which such changes were accepted by many, we give an example in the case of Dr. Duncan, of Ruthwell. Through life he had laboured on behalf of his parishioners, in regard both to their temporal and spiritual welfare; and after the Disruption his desire was to maintain the old kindly relations, even with those who refused to follow him. "As time rolled on," says Mrs. Duncan, "the necessities of some of those who had been most angry against him led them to seek help from their old friend. It was curious to observe that if there was any change in his demeanour at all, it was visible in an increased desire to do them service. One small incident, a type of what I mean, will explain the whole.

"A family was bereaved of a little one. Whether there being no parish minister, it would not be decent not to have one at all, or whether some better feeling dictated the act, I know not; but in spite of many unkind motives imputed to the ministers who had demitted, and such sayings as we have all heard of, the father asked Dr. Duncan to attend the funeral. His prayer was so full of love for those who had divided from his ministry, that some of the women, unable to contain themselves, rushed out of the house, and wept it out together with their Free friends. The day was hot, and the churchyard at some distance. Dr. Duncan offered to place the remains of the child in his small gig, and after some difficulty about the adjustment, he walked while they took their way to the grave. So simple an act was this with him that he did not recollect to mention it, though he came straight from the scene to carry me home from visiting a widow to whom I had walked in the morning. Nor did I hear of it till some days after, when I found the village still in a stir about it. Even the *bond Church* wives who thought he should not have been invited, and the *Free Church* wives who thought he should not have accepted the invitation, were at least agreed in this, that their old friend was their old friend still, and bore the same Christian heart to them all."

But if such were the sentiments of the parishioners, it was otherwise with the "parochial authorities." In one respect they had it in their power to wound the old pastor, and they could not refrain from using that power. "There was one thing

which really vexed him, and only one, of all that he resigned. Nearly thirty years before he had opened the first bank for savings in the world. It was constructed so as annually to form what he called a surplus fund, from which a secretary and treasurer might have been paid; but as he did all gratuitously the fund accumulated, and in course of years, by the vote of the governors, he was permitted to employ the fund in erecting a school and teacher's dwelling at Locharwoods, four miles from the parish school. It had been used for years as a Sabbath school and preaching station." These services he was anxious to continue, and it was evidently with some surprise that he heard of a proposal for his being excluded. "An attempt is made to shut us out of the school-house built by me out of the surplus funds of the savings bank." He wrote at once to remonstrate. "My dear Sir,—Allow me to say that my having, from conscientious motives, thrown up the emoluments of the Established Church, does not, in my opinion, materially alter my duty in this respect. . . . I did flatter myself that if there was a place in the parish to which I should be cheerfully welcomed by all classes, it would be this school-house—a building planned by my regard to the best interests of the district, and erected, I may say, at my own expense. . . . My wish is to hold prayer meetings occasionally for the religious edification *of those who choose to attend.* . . . This, one would think, is a small boon, but it is one on which I place a high value. I am sure you cannot wonder if I should think it hard were my own door to be shut in my face."

The appeal was in vain. The place was seized by the parochial authorities, and its door closed against Dr. Duncan, who, by that means, "passed it unemployed each Sabbath evening, when he went to preach in Caerlaverock parish." There was a trifling circumstance which should perhaps be mentioned, as giving completeness to the narrative. A neatly carved stone had been put up over the entrance, intimating the history of the erection, but after Dr. Duncan's exclusion, "*the tablet was torn down.*"*

But now, after the Disruption had come and gone, and trials

* For further details, see Memoir of Dr. Duncan, pp. 322-325.

began to accumulate, was there no repining among the ministers of the Free Church? The excitement of the conflict was over, and the pressure of privation was felt in their families—the pony could no longer be kept, the cow was sold, the old servants were parted with, the favour of heritors was lost or turned to bitterness, the whole worldly position was changed. And was there in the midst of all this no regret for the step they had taken? In the calm retrospect of the past, did the wish never arise that they had the power to undo what they had done?

If one gave heed to what was said all over Scotland in worldly circles, there could be no doubt as to how such questions should be answered. Before the Disruption, the opponents of the Church had been quite sure that few or none of the ministers would go out; and now after the Disruption they were just as sure that they would fain get back if they could. It was most natural for such men to think so. They were merely judging others by themselves, and to a great extent they lacked the means of measuring the power of Divine truth over the human conscience.

In referring to such matters, the common people—as is their wont—used great plainness of speech. In the parish of Edzell, Mr. Inglis tells how "James Moir, at Inchbare, a blacksmith, was talking in his smithy with some persons who had not left the Established Church. They, thinking to annoy James, said to him, 'Oh, ye're a' just like Lot's wife—ye're lookin' back again to Sodom.' James very unexpectedly turned the laugh against themselves by saying, 'No doubt it was ill wi' her for lookin' back; but it was as ill, if no waur, wi' them that didna come out ava.'"*

But though it was no use trying to annoy the blacksmith, there were others who could be made to feel. Mrs. Duncan tells of a time when she met Mr. Elliot, author of the "Horæ Apocalypticæ," and found to her surprise how far the prejudices of a good man can sometimes carry him.

"It was with feelings of sorrow, surprise, and some degree of indignant shame that I heard the Apocalyptic interpreter, Mr. Elliot, assure me that not more than six of them came out from

* Memorials of the Disruption in Edzell, &c., p. 17.

any cause but having gone too far to recede, and that all but about six would flock back into the Established Church were the way open. I am sure that, had he been aware that he was trampling on the feelings of a widow whose husband, with his two sons and two sons-in-law, had resigned their temporalities in one day, he is too humane to have done so. Yet I marvel much that a man entertaining Christian principle should judge so like the world with regard to mere matters of emolument, and I marvel more that a man who seeks to explain events veiled in prophetic vision cannot study, without the veil of prejudice, events and their causes which have occurred within a few miles of him, and amongst a people who speak his own tongue."*

The truth is, that if ever there were men fully persuaded in their own minds, they were the ministers of the Free Church; and their homes were scenes of quiet contentment and happiness, which made itself felt by all who ever crossed their thresholds.

Before the Disruption, many of their manses were visited by a literary man from England, the well-known Christian poet, James Montgomery. He belonged to a different Church, his prepossessions were all unfavourable, and this is the account he gives—"Wherever I went I came in contact with those who have now seceded from the Church, and I found them under the influence of the spirit in which they have now acted, and which has brought about this great movement. I was received into their houses; I witnessed their family devotions, and the earnestness and simplicity with which they were regularly performed. I at that time knew little of the question, and from what I had heard I had been strongly prejudiced against them. But when I went among them and saw their spirit my prejudices were removed, for I found them not only ready to be confessors but martyrs for their principles. They have witnessed a good confession. Nearly five hundred good men have gone out at the call of duty, like Abraham, not knowing whither they went. My whole heart goes with them."†

* Disr. Mss. xvi. p. 12.

† Testimonies in favour of the Free Church, &c., by the Rev. J. A. Wallace, Hawick, pp. 71, 72.

Such was the impression made on a stranger before the Disruption, but not less emphatic are the testimonies which were received after the event. If there were two men entitled above all others to speak on the subject, they were Dr. Guthrie and Dr. Macdonald, who, in the manse and school building tours, had gone familiarly among their brethren from end to end of Scotland, and this is the report which they gave:—

"I have had occasion," says Dr. Guthrie, "to enter many of the cottages where our ministers are now living, and I say as an honest man that there never was a greater calumny than to allege that any of these men regret the step they have taken; but, . . . contented, and quiet, and happy as they are in their privations, there are many of them subsisting with their families on one-third of their former incomes."*

Not less warmly did Dr. Macdonald speak in addressing the Assembly: "We have heard it publicly stated that there are many of our country brethren lamenting sadly that they gave so much when they gave up their all for Christ, and even that there is a large number anxious to return to the blessedness of keeping all, if they could only find a door open to receive them. Now, it has happened that I have been privileged to see more of them than any one in this Assembly—and that in no time of excitement, or when we were all assembled here, and felt cheered and supported in each other's society—but in the retirement of their own houses; and I feel bound to say that I have seen them happier, I believe, than they ever were before" —(here the members of Assembly lent such a universal burst of corroboration to Mr. Macdonald's statement, that his voice, though pitched in a high tone, was for some seconds inaudible) —"and so far from repenting that step, they never felt more satisfied that it was the step pointed out to them by God; and instead of longing to retrace it, they now feel thankful to God for giving them grace to take it. (Renewed plaudits)." †

But if it was thus that others spoke of them, we naturally turn to the Mss. to see what they say for themselves. At various times, as the years went on, their feelings are found recorded as they wrote them down in the quiet of their own

* Memoir, vol. ii. p. 71. † Disr. Mss. lv. p. 24.

homes; and the following extracts will serve to show what their experience really was:—

On the 1st of January, 1844, Dr. Landsborough writes: "God has spared me to enter upon a new year; and how changed my circumstances since the beginning of last year. For no event in my life am I so thankful as that the Lord gave me grace to be faithful in the day of trial, and enabled me to bear witness to the honour of the Head and King of the Church." *

In similar terms Mr. Milroy speaks: "Yesterday was the anniversary of our leaving the manse at Crailing. In looking back, I have perfect satisfaction in that surrender in so blessed a cause; and I could not but feel how much cause of gratitude we have to our Heavenly Father, who has led us and fed us all along; who has sustained, and cheered, and blessed us amid circumstances of no ordinary discouragement." †

Dr. Burns, of Kilsyth, was in the forty-sixth year of his ministry, and drawing near the end of life. Three years after the Disruption, it is pleasant to see the cheerful contentment with which he meets his altered circumstances. Referring to his privations, he says: "What are all these compared with the approbation of conscience and the peace of God keeping the heart, and the honour of taking a part in upholding the Crown Rights of his Lord?" "Much personal kindness has been experienced from a truly attached people. The want of a horse has no doubt been felt, but with staff in hand, and occasional cheerfully proffered aid of a pony or of a car from a kind neighbour, the old minister has got on wonderfully." ‡

In 1853, Mr. Wallace, of Hawick, addressed his congregation: "Now that the turmoil of the conflict is over, and an interval of ten years has elapsed, it may be admitted that we now occupy a better position that we ever had before for entering upon a calm and dispassionate review of the momentous step we have taken. . . . To these days [the time of the Disruption] we now look back with a feeling of intensest interest. They are connected with sweet associations, and with the memory of many dear friends now gone to their everlasting rest. And

* Memoir, p. 187. † Memorials of a Quiet Ministry, p. 61.
‡ Disr. Mss. xxix. p. 22.

though there might be some sacrifices made, and some privations endured, yet they were far more than counter-balanced by the kindliness of your feeling, and by the cordiality and earnestness with which you were accustomed to join in the ordinances of God's house. We therefore number them among the happiest days of our life. They are fragrant with pleasant recollections. We look back upon them as upon times of revival and refreshing from the presence of the Lord." *

In 1865, twenty-two years after the Disruption, Mr. Taylor, of Flisk, gives us another glimpse into the manse-life of Disruption ministers: "When I gave up my living in the Established Church, I never expected to receive an income exceeding £100. I had no thoughts of again occupying a manse. Yet have I been dwelling since 1844 in a pleasant manse, which for many years has been free of debt, and receiving an income of £138, raised, by the generous collection for pre-Disruption ministers, to £170. It is the doing of the Lord, and it is marvellous in our eyes." . . .

"There is another mercy for which I daily give thanks to the Lord, and that is for fixing my lot in this beautiful locality, and giving me the quiet beauties of a country pastorate. It is what Henri Lacordàire coveted—'I would bury myself in the depths of the country; I would live only for a little flock, and find all my joy in God and in the fields.' Often when I saunter on the knoll at the top of the garden, thinking out my Sabbath sermon; or on a day of languor, which feeble health occasions, I walk here, yielding myself up to the fresh invigorating influences of nature; or when, in company with a friend, the social chat is interrupted to admire some opening in the varied view; or when on Sabbath evening I can refresh my thoughts with the air and calm of the silent fields, or with quiet meditation, I often feel, Can I be thankful enough to the Lord for a retreat so congenial?" †

These were the feelings of ministers, as expressed by themselves and described by others. Many worldly advantages once enjoyed had been given up, and yet they were happy. Christ

* Pastoral Recollections, &c., by the Rev. J. A. Wallace, pp. 115, 123.

† Disr. Mss. xxxvii. Part II. pp. 21, 24.

has assured us that they who forsake houses and lands for His sake shall be recompensed an hundredfold even in this life. God's blessing was surely sufficient to fill the heart with satisfaction and peace, and give such a relish for the mercies of life as might well sweeten a far harder lot than any which the ministers of the Free Church were called to encounter. The Apostles speak of having nothing, and yet it seemed as if they possessed all things. The reproach of Christ was once felt to be greater riches than all the treasures of Egypt, and why should men not believe that something of this was once more experienced by those who had sought to follow their Divine Master in the face of trial and sacrifice. Under many a lowly roof they were dwelling beneath the shadow of the Almighty, and the sense of His love was the joy and the rejoicing of their hearts.

Peculiar tenderness belongs to the dying testimonies of certain fathers of the Church, who, after having for long endured the burden and heat of the day, were drawing near the end of their course. In the beginning of the year 1846, Dr. Duncan was in Liverpool raising money for a manse, intended, not for himself, but for his colleague and successor at Ruthwell. He was within less than three weeks of his death, but a friend writes: "He was in excellent spirits the whole time, and seemed to participate in all that was going forward with great animation and pleasure, referring to old stories with much enjoyment and cheerfulness. I fear his life was shortened by over-exertion in the cause he espoused." "This surmise was perhaps favoured by the lively pleasure with which he spoke of the state and prospects of the Free Church, and the interest which he manifested in its progress and prosperity, indicating the energy of those efforts which he felt it a privilege still to put forth in behalf of those eternal interests for promoting which her Great Head had emancipated her.

"On one of these occasions in which he was thus expatiating, hearing his testimony to the faithfulness of God in sustaining and comforting His faithful ministers and people, a friend who was present expressed the very common sentiment that the Free Church movement had been occasioned by *passion* more than *principle*, and appealed to Dr. Duncan whether, on a calm review

of the past, he was not conscious of some regret. 'Regret!' he exclaimed, with deep feeling—'what have I to regret? Can a man regret having had grace to act up to his principles? No, God forbid. Were I placed in similar circumstances to-morrow, it would be my only happiness to do as I have done."*

Mr. Campbell, of Kiltearn, Ross-shire, "resigned one of the best livings in the Church at the call of duty, thereby incurring altogether a loss of some thousands of pounds for conscience' sake." He had large experience both in the sacrifices and in the hard labour of Disruption times. In 1843, while absent from home on deputation-work, he says: "In my absence my family removed from the manse to an old wreck of a house three miles from the church, which previously had been unoccupied for fifteen years. Notwithstanding considerable repairs made on the house at my own expense, it was most uncomfortable. Two of our domestics almost lost their lives in consequence of the desperate state of the house." At a subsequent period, amidst the infirmities of advancing years, he writes: "My days are now drawing to a close, and I have great cause to praise the Lord for His goodness to me and mine. He has borne with my manifold infirmities and shortcomings. . . . Having now had the trial of twenty-two years as a Disruption minister, I bless the Lord for honouring me to be one of that band of witnesses for Christ."†

Such testimonies, however, may now be fittingly closed in the words of Dr. Brewster, of Craig, who, like his more celebrated brother, Sir David Brewster, was a man of distinguished talent and culture, and possessed literary powers of the highest order. When he entered the ministry, evangelical religion was at a low ebb within the Establishment, but with all his gifts and talents he threw himself into the work of the Lord, and soon won for himself a high position in the respect and esteem of all classes of the community. Modest and retiring almost to a fault, he had kept himself far from the din of controversy, yet, when the crisis of the Ten Years' Conflict came, the principles of the Free Church had no more intrepid defender and none more resolute to make all the sacrifices that were demanded.

* Memoir, p. 334. † Parker Mss., Presb. of Dingwall.

The circumstances in which he gave his testimony were remarkable. About a year before his death he was attacked by severe illness, and brought to the brink of the grave; and while lying in that state a report had gone abroad that he and others of his brethren had repented of having left the Established Church at the Disruption. The crisis of the illness passed; for a time, in the good providence of God, he was restored to some measure of health, and one of the first uses which he made of returning strength was to write and publish, for the benefit of his people, an account of his experience in the immediate view of death. Among other topics, he speaks of the rumour above referred to: "We know what has been said as to our repentings, but I am bound to testify, and am bold to testify, that of such repentings I had no experience. On the contrary, it was one of my chief rejoicings that we had taken such a step, . . . and had stood forth in such a cause. This I may be said to give as my dying testimony—my sentiment on a death-bed—for I cannot well be nearer death than I was supposed to be, and at least thought myself to be. In that solemn prospect, it was one of my greatest consolations that I was dying as a poor minister of the Free Church of Scotland."*

Thus, in the quiet retirement of their country parishes, these honoured fathers of the Free Church prepared to pass away. No doubt or misgiving troubled them as to the path of duty which they had followed in 1843. The voice of Him who then had called them to leave all and follow Him was still in their ears. Not in the heat of controversy or amidst the excitement of public meetings was their testimony given. Mr. Campbell, of Kiltearn, stands as one "ready to be offered," feeling that the "time of his departure is at hand;" but ere he goes he gives thanks to God for the honour put on him as a witness for Christ at the Disruption. Dr. Brewster lies on what is felt to be his dying bed, and in the calm retrospect, it fills him with gratitude to think of the part he had been permitted to take in connection with the Free Church. In words which deserve to be held in remembrance, he states that in the solemn prospect of death, it was one of his consolations that HE WAS DYING AS A POOR MINISTER OF THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

* Parker Mss., Presb. of Brechin.

# APPENDIX.

## APPENDIX I.

### LIST OF DISRUPTION MANUSCRIPTS.

(*Continued from* PART I.)

LIII. Forgandenny. Rev. James Drummond.

LIV. St. Andrews. Rev. J. Thomson, Leith.

LV. Blairgowrie, &c. Rev. Dr. M'Donald, and Friends.

LVI. Duirness. Rev. Eric Findlater.

LVII. Yester. Rev. Dr. Thomson, Paisley.

LVIII. Drumblade. Rev. G. Ramsay Davidson.

LIX. Houndwood, &c. Rev. A. Spence.

LX. Aberfeldy. Rev. D. R. Clark.

LXI. Monzie. Rev. J. R. Omond.

LXII. Kilmodan. Rev. Duncan M'Lean.

LXIII. Kenmore. Rev. A. Sinclair.

LXIV. Larbert. Rev. B. F. Greig, of Kinfauns.

# APPENDIX II.

## List of Ministers who Left the Scottish Establishment in 1843, showing the Names of those who Survive in 1877, and of those who have been removed by Death.

Note.—*Care has been taken to ensure accuracy so far as the information in possession of the Church would allow. Should any of the numerous details be found defective, the Convener invites additional communications.*

| *Name.* | *Place.* | *Removed to* | *Date of Ordination.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **I. SYNOD OF LOTHIAN AND TWEEDDALE.** | | | | |
| **1. Presbytery of Edinburgh.** | | | | |
| John Bruce, D.D., | St. Andrews, | | 1818 | |
| George R. Davidson, | Lady Glenorchy's, | | 1828 | |
| James Begg, D.D., | Liberton, | Newington, | 1830 | |
| Charles J. Brown, D.D., | New North, | | 1831 | |
| Robert Elder, D.D., | St. Paul's, | Rothesay, | 1831 | |
| David Thorburn, | South Leith, | | 1833 | |
| A. M. Stuart, D.D., | St. Luke's, | | 1837 | |
| James Fairbairn, D.D., | Newhaven, | | 1838 | |
| John Thomson, | St. Ninian's, | | 1840 | |
| Alex. W. Brown, | St. Bernard's, | resigned, | 1841 | |
| Thomas Addis, | Morningside, | | 1841 | |
| James Manson, | Dean, | Dunse, | 1842 | |
| Alexander Gregory, | Roxburgh, | Anstruther, | 1842 | |
| David Welsh, D.D., | Professor, | | 1820 | Died 24th April, 1845 |
| Geo. Muirhead, D.D., | Cramond, | | 1788 | " 5th April, 1847 |
| Thos. Chalmers, D.D., | Principal, | | 1803 | " 31st May, 1847 |
| Robert Gordon, D.D., | High Church, | | 1816 | " 21st Oct., 1853 |
| John Glen, | Portobello, | | 1818 | " 7th Nov., 1854 |
| John Sym, | Greyfriars, | | 1833 | " 29th Jan., 1855 |
| Walter Fairlie, | Gilmerton, | | 1819 | " 25th Nov., 1856 |
| William Simpson, | Leith Wynd, | | 1813 | " 4th Jan., 1858 |
| Henry Grey, D.D., | St. Mary's, | | 1801 | " 14th Jan., 1859 |
| W. Cunningham, D.D., | Trinity Church, | Principal, | 1830 | " 14th Dec., 1861 |
| Wm. K. Tweedie, D.D., | Tolbooth, | | 1832 | " 24th March, 1863 |
| James Noble, | Gaelic, | Poolewe, | 1839 | " 20th Oct., 1864 |
| Robert Ferguson, | St. David's, | | 1836 | " 18th Dec., 1866 |
| Patrick Clason, D.D., | Buccleuch, | | 1815 | " 30th July, 1867 |

| *Name.* | *Place.* | *Removed to* | *Date of Ordination.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| William Nisbet, | John Knox's, | | 1834 | Died 27th Sept., 1869 |
| Jas. Buchanan, D.D., | High Church, | Professor, | 1828 | " 19th April, 1870 |
| Andrew Mackenzie, | Henderson Ch., | Penicuik, | 1831 | " 13th March, 1871 |
| James Lewis, D.D., | St. John's, Leith, | Rome, | 1832 | " 29th Jan., 1872 |
| Thos. Guthrie, D.D., | St. John's, | | 1830 | " 24th Feb., 1873 |
| R. S. Candlish, D.D., | St. George's, | | 1834 | " 19th Oct., 1873 |
| J. Julius Wood, D.D., | New Greyfriars, | Dumfries, | 1827 | " 23rd March, 1877 |

2. Presbytery of Linlithgow.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lewis H. Irving, | Abercorn, | Falkirk, | 1831 | |
| John Laing, | Livingstone, | | 1842 | |
| Samuel Martin, | Bathgate, | | 1825 | Died 15th May, 1850 |
| W. M. Hetherington, | Torphichen, | Professor, | 1836 | " — May, 1865 |
| Thomas Gordon, | Falkirk, | | 1819 | " 22nd July, 1869 |

3. Presbytery of Biggar and Peebles.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Wm. Hanna, D.D., | Skirling, | Edinburgh, | 1835 | |
| Jas. Somerville, D.D., | Drumelzier, | | 1799 | Died 8th May, 1844 |
| Walter Paterson, | Kirkurd, | | 1837 | " 21st June, 1849 |
| George Burns, D.D., | Tweedsmuir, | Corstorphine, | 1816 | " 5th Feb., 1876 |
| James Proudfoot, | Culter, | | 1827 | " 15th Nov., 1876 |

4. Presbytery of Dalkeith.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Thomas Pitcairn, | Cockpen, | | 1833 | Died 21st Dec., 1854 |
| James Monteith, | Dalkeith, | Ascog, | 1832 | " 20th April, 1856 |
| Jas. Bannerman, D.D., | Ormiston, | Professor, | 1833 | " 27th March, 1868 |
| David Brown, | Roslin, | | 1829 | " 3rd March, 1870 |
| Robert Court, | Heriot, | | 1831 | " 27th May, 1870 |

5. Presbytery of Haddington and Dunbar.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| John Thomson, | Prestonkirk, | | 1831 | |
| W. B. Cunningham, | Prestonpans, | | 1833 | |
| John Thomson, D.D., | Yester, | Paisley, | 1834 | |
| John Ainslie, D.D., | Dirleton, | St. Andrews, | 1835 | |
| James Dodds, | Humbie, | Dunbar, | 1841 | |
| John Abernethy, | Bolton, | | 1816 | Died 5th July, 1843 |
| Andrew Baird, | Cockburnspath, | | 1831 | " 22nd June, 1845 |
| Robert Lorimer, D.D., | Haddington, | | 1793 | " 9th Nov., 1848 |
| Selby O. Dodds, | Garvald, | | 1839 | " 23rd Jan., 1856 |
| Angus Makellar, D.D., | Pencaitland, | | 1812 | " 10th May, 1859 |
| William Sorley, | Belhaven, | Selkirk. | 1840 | " 4th Oct., 1859 |
| Adam Forman, | Innerwick, | Leven, | 1824 | " 28th March, 1865 |
| Archibald Lorimer, | Cockenzie, | | 1838 | " 23rd Dec., 1869 |
| T. W. Wright, | Haddington, | | 1839 | " 23rd July, 1872 |
| Pat. Fairbairn, D.D., | Saltoun, | Principal, | 1830 | " 6th Aug., 1875 |

| *Name.* | *Place.* | *Removed to* | *Date of Ordination.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|

## II. SYNOD OF MERSE AND TEVIOTDALE.

### 6. Presbytery of Dunse and Chirnside.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| G. F. Knight, | Mordington, | Wemyss, | 1832 | |
| John Fairbairn, | Greenlaw, | | 1833 | |
| William Cousin, | Dunse, | Melrose, | 1840 | |
| John Baillie, | Fogo, | England, | 1841 | |
| John Brown, D.D., | Langton, | | 1805 | Died 25th June, 1848 |
| Archd. M'Conechy, | ..... | | 1819 | " 22nd Sept., 1853 |
| John Wallace, | Ab. St. Bathan's, | | 1823 | " 2nd Nov., 1866 |
| Robert Cowe, | Whitsome, | Glasgow, | 1832 | " 20th Oct., 1867 |
| John Turnbull, | Eyemouth, | | 1822 | " 3rd March, 1870 |

### 7. Presbytery of Kelso and Lauder.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Horatius Bonar, D.D., | Kelso, | Edinburgh, | 1837 | |
| Walter Wood, | Westruther, | Elie, | 1838 | |
| George Craig, | Sprouston, | | 1835 | Died 10th Feb., 1866 |

### 8. Presbytery of Jedburgh.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| John Purves, D.D., | Jedburgh, | | 1830 | |
| John A. Wallace, | Hawick, | | 1827 | Died 9th Feb., 1870 |
| Andrew Milroy, | Crailing, | Edinburgh, | 1829 | " 3rd May, 1873 |

### 9. Presbytery of Selkirk.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| W. Falconer, | Ladhope, | Ferry-port-on-Craig, | 1839 | |
| Thomas Jolly, | Bowden, | | 1829 | Died 30th May, 1859 |
| John Edmondston, | Ashkirk, | | 1837 | " 8th Dec., 1865 |

## III. SYNOD OF DUMFRIES.

### 10. Presbytery of Lockerby.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| W. Brown Clark, | Half-Morton, | Quebec, | 1839 | |
| G. Hastie, | K'pat'k-Fleming, | | 1834 | Died 2nd Nov., 1856 |
| D. B. Douie, | Dryfesdale, | Largs, | 1831 | " —— 1863-4 |
| E. M'Bryde Broun, | Brydekirk, | Lochmaben, | 1836 | " 30th Sept., 1866 |

### 11. Presbytery of Dumfries.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Robert Kinnear, | Torthorwald, | Moffat, | 1841 | |
| Henry Duncan, D.D., | Ruthwell, | | 1799 | Died 12th Feb., 1846 |
| Robert Crawford, | K'pat'k-Irongray, | | 1832 | " 7th Aug., 1856 |
| Robert Brydon, D.D., | Dunscore, | | 1822 | " 26th Aug., 1860 |
| George J. Duncan, | K'pat'k-Durham, | London, | 1832 | " —— 1870 |
| James Mackenzie, | Dalbeattie, | | 1843 | " 10th June, 1869 |
| J. R. Mackenzie, D.D., | Dumfries, | Birmingham, | 1841 | " 3rd March, 1877 |

| *Name.* | *Place.* | *Removed to* | *Date of Ordination.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 12. Presbytery of Penpont. | | |
| Patrick Borrowman, | Glencairn, | | 1837 | |
| Thomas Hastings, | Wanlockhead, | | 1834 | Died 30th April, 1875 |
| | | IV. SYNOD OF GALLOWAY. | | |
| | | 13. Presbytery of Stranraer. | | |
| Andrew Urquhart, | Portpatrick, | | 1832 | |
| Robert Donald, | Sheuchan, | retired, | 1842 | |
| Robert M'Neill, | Stonykirk, | | 1840 | Died 6th Aug., 1852 |
| John Lamb, | Kirkmaiden, | | 1826 | " 2nd Jan., 1865 |
| T. B. Bell, | Leswalt, | | 1841 | " 10th Dec., 1866 |
| | | 14. Presbytery of Wigtown. | | |
| A. Forrester, | Sorby, | Halifax, | 1835 | Died 19th April, 1869 |
| | | 15. Presbytery of Kirkcudbright. | | |
| Robert Jeffray, | Girthon, | | 1818 | Died 9th March, 1844 |
| Samuel Smith, | Borgue, | demitted, | 1834 | " —— 1869 |
| John Macmillan, D.D., | Kirkcudbright, | | 1837 | " 29th Nov., 1876 |
| | | V. SYNOD OF GLASGOW AND AYR. | | |
| | | 16. Presbytery of Ayr. | | |
| W. Chalmers, | Dailly, | London, | 1836 | |
| George Orr, | Symington, | retired, | 1840 | |
| John Speirs, | Patna, | Kinglassie, | 1841 | |
| Matthew Kirkland, | New Cumnock, | | 1835 | Died 27th July, 1846 |
| James Stevenson, | Newton-on-Ayr, | | 1826 | " 30th Sept., 1865 |
| E. B. Wallace, | Barr, | | 1819 | " 5th June, 1867 |
| Andrew Thomson, | Maybole, | | 1840 | " —— 1869 |
| Ninian Bannatyne, | Old Cumnock, | | 1830 | " 20th Feb., 1874 |
| Thomas Burns, | Monkton, | Dunedin, | 1826 | " 23rd Jan., 1871 |
| William Hutchison, | Catrine, | Johnstone, | 1836 | " 25th March, 1876 |
| William Grant, | Ayr, | | 1843 | " 2nd Nov.. 1876 |
| | | 17. Presbytery of Irvine. | | |
| David Wilson, | Fullarton, | | 1837 | |
| Thomas Main, | Kilmarnock, | Edinburgh, | 1839 | |
| Neil Brodie, | Kilmarnock, | P'ckshaws, | 1842 | |
| David Arthur, | Stewarton, | Belize—retd. | 1842 | |
| John Hamilton, | Saltcoats, | Lochranza, | 1838 | Died 30th May, 1847 |
| Peter Campbell, | Kilmarnock, | | 1815 | " 19th March, 1850 |
| D. Landsborough, D.D., | Stevenston, | | 1811 | " 12th Sept., 1854 |
| Matthew Dickie, | Dunlop, | Beith, | 1828 | " 28th Sept., 1863 |
| Thomas Findlay, | West Kilbride, | | 1832 | " 13th June, 1875 |

| *Name.* | *Place.* | *Removed to* | *Date of Ordination.* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 18. Presbytery of Paisley. | | | |
| J. M'Naughton, D.D., | Paisley, | Belfast, | 1831 | | |
| George Logan, | Eastwood, | | 1785 | Died 2nd July, | 1843 |
| W. Scott Hay, | Bridge-of-Weir, | | 1821 | " 15th Dec., | 1851 |
| D. Macfarlane, D.D., | Renfrew, | | 1827 | " 30th April, | 1853 |
| James Falconer, | Paisley, | Canada, | 1837 | " —— | 1856 |
| Peter Henderson, | Paisley, | | 1841 | " 27th Sept., | 1861 |
| Robert Smith, D.D., | Lochwinnoch, | | 1815 | " 22nd Jan., | 1865 |
| Robert Burns, D.D., | Paisley, | Canada, | 1811 | " 19th Aug., | 1869 |
| John Campbell, | Paisley, | Tarbert, | 1833 | " 17th Sept., | 1874 |
| Alexander Salmon, | Barrhead, | Sydney, | 1836 | | |
| | | 19. Presbytery of Greenock. | | | |
| James Smith, | Middle Church, | | 1824 | | |
| James Stark, | Cartsdyke, | | 1834 | | |
| John Gemmell, | Fairlie, | | 1835 | | |
| John J. Bonar, | St. Andrew's Ch., | | 1835 | | |
| R. W. Stewart, D.D., | Erskine, | Leghorn, | 1837 | | |
| Wm. Laughton, | St. Thomas's, | | 1839 | | |
| Angus Macbean, | South Church, | | 1821 | Died 24th Dec., | 1845 |
| Pat. Macfarlane, D.D., | West Church, | | 1806 | " 13th Nov., | 1849 |
| James Morison, | Port-Glasgow, | | 1842 | " 22nd Sept., | 1852 |
| James Drummond, | Cumbrae, | | 1830 | " 28th Jan., | 1862 |
| John Dow, | Largs, | | 1831 | " 6th Oct., | 1865 |
| Donald M'Leod, | Gourock, | | 1831 | " —— | 1868 |
| | | 20. Presbytery of Hamilton. | | | |
| James Findlay, | Broomknoll, | Glasgow, | 1835 | | |
| Sir H. Moncreiff, D.D., | East Kilbride, | Edinburgh, | 1836 | | |
| David Paton, | Chapelton, | Fettercairn, | 1841 | | |
| Alex. Rankine, | East Strathaven, | | 1842 | | |
| James Clason, | Dalziel, | | 1808 | Died 16th April, | 1852 |
| James Anderson, | Blantyre, | | 1832 | " 7th May, | 1860 |
| William Buchan, | Hamilton, | | 1831 | " 21st June, | 1869 |
| William Jackson, | Airdrie, | | 1835 | " 8th Aug., | 1869 |
| | | 21. Presbytery of Lanark. | | | |
| William Logan, | Lesmahagow, | | 1820 | Died 3rd Feb., | 1863 |
| A. Borland Parker, | Lesmahagow, | Glasgow, | 1836 | " 4th April, | 1867 |
| Thomas Stark, | Lanark, | | 1841 | " 2nd Dec., | 1869 |
| | | 22. Presbytery of Dumbarton. | | | |
| William Alexander, | Duntocher, | | 1838 | | |
| John Pollock, | Baldernock, | | 1836 | Died 20th Dec., | 1855 |
| James Smith, | Dumbarton, | | 1839 | " 1st Nov., | 1862 |
| Matthew Barclay, D.D., | Old Kilpatrick, | | 1833 | " 22nd Jan., | 1865 |
| John Anderson, | Helensburgh, | | 1827 | —— | 1867 |

| *Name.* | *Place.* | *Removed to* | *Date of Ordination.* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **23. Presbytery of Glasgow.** | | | | | |
| Michael Willis, D.D., | Renfield, | Canada, | 1821 | | |
| John Thomson, | Shettleston, | Aberdeen, | 1829 | | |
| W. M'Gilvray, D.D., | Hope Street, | Aberdeen, | 1835 | | |
| James Munro, | Rutherglen, | | 1836 | | |
| A. N. Somerville, D.D., | Anderston Ch., | | 1837 | | |
| A. S. Patterson, D.D., | Hutchesontown, | | 1837 | | |
| James Macbeth, | ..... | | 1837 | | |
| David Menzies, | Martyr's, | | 1839 | | |
| John Lyon, | Kilsyth, | Bro'ty-Ferry, | 1840 | | |
| Alexander Wilson, | Bridgeton, | | 1841 | | |
| Robert Reid, | Chalmers, | B'ry-T'-nan, | 1842 | | |
| Joseph Somerville, | St. Thomas's, | | 1823 | Died 17th Dec., | 1844 |
| Thomas Brown, D.D., | St. John's, | | 1807 | " 23rd Jan., | 1847 |
| William Burns, D.D., | Kilsyth, | | 1800 | " 9th May, | 1859 |
| Peter Currie, | Stockwell, | | 1820 | " 30th Sept., | 1859 |
| John Smyth, D.D. | St. George's, | | 1823 | " 21st Oct., | 1860 |
| Thomas Duncan, | Kirkintilloch, | | 1838 | " 18th Dec., | 1861 |
| J. G. Lorimer, D.D., | St. David's, | | 1829 | " 9th Oct., | 1868 |
| John Cochrane, | Cumbernauld, | Gr'gemouth, | 1827 | " 19th Jan., | 1869 |
| Nath. Paterson, D.D., | St. Andrew's, | | 1821 | " 25th April, | 1871 |
| James Gibson, D.D., | Kingston, | Professor, | 1835 | " 2nd Nov., | 1871 |
| Hugh Mackay, | Milton, | Kilmun, | 1842 | " 30th June, | 1873 |
| R. M'Nair Wilson, | Maryhill, | | 1826 | " 3rd April, | 1874 |
| A. King, | St. Stephen's, | | 1830 | —— | 1874 |
| Jas. Henderson, D.D., | St. Enoch's, | | 1821 | " 12th Sept., | 1874 |
| John Forbes, D.D., | St. Paul's, | | 1826 | " 25th Dec., | 1874 |
| Robt. Buchanan, D.D., | Tron Church, | | 1827 | " 31st March, | 1875 |
| James Mackinlay, | Wellpark, | | 1842 | " 16th June, | 1876 |
| William Arnot, | St. Peter's, | Edinburgh, | 1839 | " 3rd June, | 1875 |
| Jonathan Anderson, | Knox's Church, | suspended, | 1834 | | |
| **VI. SYNOD OF ARGYLL.** | | | | | |
| **24. Presbytery of Dunoon and Inverary.** | | | | | |
| Joseph Stark, | Kilfinan, | | 1832 | | |
| John M'Pherson, | Rothesay, | | 1837 | Died 16th Sept., | 1843 |
| Peter M'Bride, | Rothesay, | | 1825 | " 2nd Oct., | 1846 |
| Duncan M'Lean, | Kilmodan, | Callander, | 1836 | " 14th June, | 1858 |
| Robert Craig, | Rothesay, | | 1829 | " 26th May, | 1860 |
| M. Mackay, LL.D., | Dunoon, | Tarbert, | 1825 | " 17th May, | 1873 |
| Alexander M'Bride, | North Bute, | | 1835 | " 28th April, | 1875 |
| **25. Presbytery of Kintyre.** | | | | | |
| Hector M'Neill, | Campbeltown, | | 1835 | | |
| Angus Macmillan, | Kilmorie, | | 1822 | Died 1st Oct., | 1843 |
| Duncan M'Nab, | Campbeltown, | Glasgow, | 1839 | " 12th June, | 1863 |

| Name. | Place. | Removed to | Date of Ordination. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **26. Presbytery of Islay.** | | | | | |
| James Pearson, | Kilmeny, | | 1829 | | |
| Alex. Cameron, | Kilchrenan, | | 1819 | Died 30th April, | 1872 |
| **27. Presbytery of Lorn and Mull.** | | | | | |
| Donald M'Vean, | Iona, | | 1835 | | |
| Finlay M'Pherson, | Kilbrandon, | | 1833 | Died 9th Jan., | 1852 |
| Archibald Bannatyne, | Oban, | | 1842 | " 18th May, | 1863 |
| Hugh Fraser, | Ardchattan, | | 1807 | " 6th Oct., | 1865 |
| Duncan M'Lean, | Glenorchy, | | 1821 | " 26th Dec., | 1871 |
| William Fraser, | Kilchrenan, | Australia, | 1827 | —— | 1874 |
| **VII. SYNOD OF PERTH AND STIRLING.** | | | | | |
| **28. Presbytery of Stirling.** | | | | | |
| Alexander Beith, D.D., | Stirling, | | 1822 | | |
| John Wright, | Alloa, | | 1830 | | |
| Christopher Greigg, | St. Ninian's, | | 1800 | Died 11th April, | 1844 |
| George Cupples, | Stirling, | Doune, | 1812 | " 1st May, | 1850 |
| John Dempster, | Denny, | | 1800 | " 18th May, | 1855 |
| John Bonar, D.D., | Larbert, | Glasgow, | 1826 | " 20th Dec., | 1863 |
| Ebenezer Johnstone, | Plean, | | 1839 | " 3rd Feb., | 1864 |
| Alexander Leitch, | Stirling, | | 1825 | " 17th April, | 1868 |
| William Meckray, | Stirling, | Huntly, | 1824 | " 25th June, | 1870 |
| John Harper, | Bannockburn, | Bothwell, | 1839 | " 17th Oct., | 1875 |
| **29. Presbytery of Dunblane.** | | | | | |
| Thomas Hislop, | Deanston, | | 1816 | | |
| James Duncan, | Kincardine East, | Temple, | 1826 | | |
| W. Mackenzie, | Dunblane, | Australia, | 1829 | | |
| William Watt, | Bucklyvie, | Norrieston, | 1837 | | |
| David Black, | Gartmore, | Tillicoultry, | 1839 | | |
| William Anderson, | Kippen, | | 1811 | Died 27th March, | 1845 |
| Henry Anderson, | Tillicoultry, | | 1808 | " 12th Aug., | 1845 |
| **30. Presbytery of Dunkeld.** | | | | | |
| John Waddell, | ..... | | 1825 | | |
| William Grant, | Tenandry, | Colonies, | 1836 | | |
| John Mackenzie, | Dunkeld, | Ratho, | 1839 | | |
| Andrew Kessen, | Lethendy, | | 1838 | Died 14th Feb., | 1856 |
| Francis Gillies, | Rattray, | Edinburgh, | 1837 | " 11th Jan., | 1862 |
| Michael Stirling, | Cargill, | | 1808 | " 11th March, | 1865 |
| George Millar, | Clunie, | | 1836 | " 24th Dec., | 1869 |

| *Name.* | *Place.* | *Removed to* | *Date of Ordination.* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|

31. Presbytery of Breadalbane.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alexander Stewart, | Killin, | | 1839 | | |
| Alexander Mackinnon, | Strathfillan, | | 1840 | | |
| John Logan, | Lawers, | Glasgow, | 1843 | Died | —— |

32. Presbytery of Perth.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| James Drummond, | Forgandenny, | | 1828 | | |
| William Mather, | Stanley, | | 1832 | | |
| Alexander Cumming, | Dunbarny, | Glasgow, | 1834 | | |
| A. A. Bonar, D.D., | Collace, | Glasgow, | 1838 | | |
| John Walker, | Perth, | retired, | 1842 | | |
| Charles Stewart. | St. Stephen's, | | 1838 | Died 1st July, | 1852 |
| James M'Lagan, | Kinfauns, | Professor, | 1821 | " 29th Oct., | 1852 |
| Andrew Gray, | Perth, | | 1832 | " 10th March, | 1861 |
| Wm. Thomson, D.D., | Perth, | | 1801 | " 17th March, | 1863 |
| John A. Thomson, | Moneydie, | | 1828 | " 1st Oct., | 1864 |
| John Milne, | Perth, | | 1839 | " 31st May, | 1868 |
| J. Grierson, D.D., | Errol, | | 1819 | " 22nd Jan., | 1865 |
| C. C. Stewart, | Aberdalgie, | Scone, | 1832 | " 30th Dec., | 1876 |

33. Presbytery of Auchterarder.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| John Ferguson, | Monivaird, | B.-of-Allan, | 1835 | | |
| J. Reid Omond, | Monzie, | | 1836 | | |
| Andrew Noble, | Blairingone, | Loudon, | 1841 | | |
| James Carment, | Comrie, | | 1841 | | |
| Samuel Grant, | Ardoch, | | 1840 | Died 14th Jan, | 1863 |
| James Thomson, | Muckart, | | 1832 | " 23rd Dec., | 1871 |
| Finlay Macalister, | Crieff, | Australia, | 1839 | | |

## VIII. SYNOD OF FIFE.

34. Presbytery of Dunfermline.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| William Gilston, | Carnock, | | 1827 | | |
| Charles Marshall, | Dunfermline, | | 1841 | | |
| John Balfour, | Culross, | | 1816 | Died 21st Aug., | 1845 |
| W. W. Duncan, | Cleish, | Peebles, | 1836 | " 9th July, | 1864 |
| Thomas Doig, | Torryburn, | | 1819 | " 26th Sept., | 1867 |
| Andrew Sutherland, | Dunfermline, | Gibraltar, | 1839 | —— | 1867 |
| James Thornton, | Milnathort, | Orwell, | 1816 | " 3rd Sept., | 1874 |

35. Presbytery of Kinross.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hugh Laird, D.D., | Portmoak, | | 1801 | Died 28th May, | 1849 |

| *Name.* | *Place.* | *Removed to* | *Date of Ordination.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **36. Presbytery of Kirkcaldy.** | | | | |
| Alex. O. Laird, | Abbotshall, | Dundee, | 1833 | |
| David Couper, D.D., | Burntisland, | | 1834 | |
| John Isdale, | Inverteil, | Glasgow, | 1843 | |
| John Thomson, | Dysart, | | 1820 | Died 24th March, 1848 |
| Jas. Sievewright, D.D., | Markinch, | | 1815 | " 29th Nov., 1852 |
| John Alexander, D.D., | Kirkcaldy, | | 1836 | " 21st May, 1863 |
| Chas. Watson, D.D., | Burntisland, | retired, | 1820 | " 11th Aug., 1866 |
| Charles Jamieson, | Pathhead, | | 1840 | " 1st Feb., 1870 |
| **37. Presbytery of Cupar.** | | | | |
| Adam Cairns, D.D., | Cupar, | Melbourne, | 1828 | |
| James Brodie, | Monimail, | | 1829 | |
| John Murray, | Dunbog, | Abdie, | 1837 | |
| George Smeaton, D.D., | Falkland, | Professor, | 1839 | |
| J. W. Taylor, | Flisk, | | 1843 | |
| Andrew Melville, | Logie, | | 1803 | Died 30th June, 1848 |
| John Duncan, | Ceres, | St. Boswell's, | 1836 | " 4th May, 1867 |
| Angus M'Gillivray, | Dairsie, | | 1828 | " 8th Dec., 1873 |
| John Macfarlane, D.D., | Collessie, | Dalkeith, | 1823 | " 2nd June, 1875 |
| **38. Presbytery of St. Andrews.** | | | | |
| William Nicholson, | Ferry-port-on-Craig, | Hobart Town, | 1828 | |
| W. Ferrie, | Easter Ans'ter, | resigned, | 1839 | |
| Charles Nairn, | Forgan, | Dundee, | 1836 | Died 17th March, 1873 |
| R. Lundin Brown, | Largo, | | 1821 | " 9th April, 1877 |
| Ralph Robb, | Strathkinnes, | Halifax, | 1827 | |

## IX. SYNOD OF ANGUS AND MEARNS.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **39. Presbytery of Meigle.** | | | | |
| R. Macdonald, D.D., | Blairgowrie, | Leith, | 1837 | |
| David White, | Airlie, | | 1833 | Died 29th Dec., 1873 |
| **40. Presbytery of Forfar.** | | | | |
| Donald Fergusson, | Dunnichen, | Leven, | 1837 | |
| Daniel Cormick, | Kirriemuir, | | 1839 | Died 24th May, 1848 |
| William Clugston, | Forfar, | | 1817 | " 3rd March, 1859 |
| **41. Presbytery of Dundee.** | | | | |
| John Roxburgh, D.D., | Dundee, | Glasgow, | 1834 | |
| Samuel Miller, D.D., | Monifieth, | Glasgow, | 1836 | |
| James Ewing, | Dundee, | | 1837 | |

| *Name.* | *Place.* | *Removed to* | *Date of Ordination.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| George Lewis, | Dundee, | Ormiston, | 1837 | |
| John Baxter, | Hilltown, | Blairgowrie, | 1838 | |
| Alex. M'Pherson, | Dudhope, | Meigle, | 1841 | |
| David Davidson, | Broughty-Ferry, | | 1827 | Died 25th Aug., 1843 |
| Robert Aitken, | Willison Church, | | 1811 | " 1st July, 1845 |
| William Stewart, | Lochee, | | 1832 | " 13th Oct., 1852 |
| Charles Macalister, | Dundee, | | 1819 | " 11th Feb., 1854 |
| Robert S. Walker, | Longforgan, | | 1807 | " 11th May, 1854 |
| William Reid, | Chapelshade, | Colessie, | 1830 | " 22nd Dec., 1854 |
| James Miller, | Monikie, | | 1803 | " 25th May, 1860 |
| David B. Mellis, | Tealing, | | 1830 | " 26th May, 1861 |
| Patrick L. Miller, | Wallacetown, | Newcastle, | 1840 | " 16th April, 1866 |

42. Presbytery of Brechin.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| William Nixon, | Montrose, | | 1832 | |
| James M'Cosh, | Brechin, | Princet'n Un., | 1835 | |
| A. L. R. Foote, | Brechin, | | 1835 | |
| Andrew Fergusson, | Maryton, | | 1795 | Died 24th Oct., 1843 |
| James Brewster, D.D., | Craig, | | 1804 | " 5th Feb., 1849 |
| Mungo J. Parker, | Brechin, | | 1837 | " 1st April, 1867 |
| Robert Inglis, | Edzell, | | 1837 | " 19th Jan., 1876 |

43. Presbytery of Arbroath.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| John Laird, | Inverkeiller, | Cupar, | 1835 | |
| Thomas Dymock, | Carnoustie, | Perth, | 1837 | |
| William Wilson, D.D., | Carmylie, | Dundee, | 1837 | |
| David Crichton, | Inverbrothock, | | 1838 | |
| John Montgomery, | Arbroath, | | 1839 | |
| Alex. Leslie, | Ladyloan, | Aberdeen, | 1842 | |
| John Kirk, | Arbirlot, | | 1824 | Died 4th March, 1858 |
| Thomas Wilson, | Friockheim, | | 1837 | " 30th March, 1872 |
| James Lumsden, | Barry, | Principal, | 1836 | " 7th Oct., 1875 |

44. Presbytery of Fordoun.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alexander Keith, D.D., | St. Cyrus, | | 1816 | |
| Thomas Brown, | Kinneff, | Edinburgh, | 1837 | |
| Alex. Keith, jun., | St. Cyrus, | | 1840 | |
| James Glen, | Benholme, | | 1826 | Died 10th Dec., 1866 |

## X. SYNOD OF ABERDEEN.

45. Presbytery of Aberdeen.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| John Allan, | Aberdeen, | retired, | 1832 | |
| Alex. Spence, D.D., | St. Clement's, | | 1837 | |
| John Stephen, | John Knox's, | | 1838 | |
| William Mitchell, | Holburn, | | 1838 | |
| John Longmuir, | Mariner's, | | 1840 | |

| *Name.* | *Place.* | *Removed to* | *Date of Ordination.* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Robert Thomson, | Peterculter, | | 1840 | Died 30th Jan., | 1845 |
| Gavin Parker, | Bon-Accord, | | 1823 | " 5th June, | 1845 |
| James Stewart, | South Church, | | 1838 | " 5th June, | 1846 |
| James Footé, D.D., | East Church, | | 1809 | " 25th June, | 1856 |
| George Moir, | New Machar, | | 1840 | " 17th June, | 1857 |
| John Fleming, | Professor, | Edinburgh, | ... | " 18th Nov., | 1857 |
| Hugh Mackenzie, | Gaelic Church, | | 1822 | " 31st Jan., | 1859 |
| Robert Forbes, | Woodside, | | 1836 | " 21st Oct., | 1859 |
| John Murray, D.D., | North Church, | | 1816 | " 1st March, | 1861 |
| James Bryce, D.D., | Gilcomston, | | 1824 | " 23rd March, | 1861 |
| A. Black, D.D., | Professor, | Edinburgh, | ... | " — Feb., | 1864 |
| David Simpson, | Trinity, | | 1823 | " 28th July, | 1864 |
| William Primrose, | Melville Church, | | 1806 | " 23rd May, | 1866 |
| A. D. Davidson, D.D., | West Church, | | 1832 | " 27th April, | 1872 |
| Robt. J. Brown, D.D., | Professor, | | 1821 | " 7th Dec., | 1872 |
| Abercrombie L. Gordon, | Greyfriars, | | 1826 | " — | 1874 |

### 46. Presbytery of Kincardine-o'-Neil.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Farquhar Macrae, | Braemar, | Knockbain, | 1833 | | |
| Donald Stewart, | Glengairn, | | 1833 | | |
| David S. Fergusson, | Strachan, | | 1836 | | |
| Donald Campbell, | Cluny, | Ballater, | 1841 | | |
| James M'Gown, | Bankhead, | Airdrie, | 1832 | Died 2nd June, | 1864 |
| W. Anderson, LL.D., | Banchory-Ternan, | | 1830 | " 7th Dec., | 1870 |

### 47. Presbytery of Alford.—*None.*

### 48. Presbytery of Garioch.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Henry Simson, | Chapel-Garioch, | | 1817 | Died 30th Jan., | 1850 |
| Robert Simpson, | Kintore, | | 1833 | " 29th June, | 1870 |
| David Simson. | Oyne, | | 1839 | " 8th March, | 1871 |
| George Garioch, | Old Meldrum, | | 1817 | " 12th May, | 1872 |

### 49. Presbytery of Ellon.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alexander Philip, | Cruden, | Portobello, | 1836 | Died 1st March, | 1861 |

### 50. Presbytery of Deer.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| J. Anderson, | St. Fergus, | Morpeth, | 1822 | | |
| James Yuill, | Peterhead, | | 1835 | | |

### 51. Presbytery of Turriff.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Wm. G. Blaikie, D.D., | Drumblade, | Professor, | 1842 | | |
| Gilbert Brown, | New Byth, | | 1816 | Died 3rd Aug., | 1852 |
| Joseph Thorburn, | Forglen, | Inverness, | 1829 | " 15th May, | 1854 |
| Hugh Gordon, | Monquhitter, | | 1829 | " — June, | 1866 |
| John Manson, | Fyvie, | | 1829 | " 20th Nov., | 1872 |

| *Name.* | *Place.* | *Removed to* | *Date of Ordination.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 52. Presbytery of Fordyce. | | |
| David Brown, D.D., | Ord, | Principal, | 1836 | |
| Robert Shanks, | Buckie, | | 1837 | |
| George Innes, | Cullen, | | 1843 | Died 24th Nov., 1847 |
| George Innes, | Deskford, | | 1808 | " 1st Oct., 1851 |
| Francis W. Grant, | Banff, | | 1816 | " 12th April, 1858 |
| Alexander Reid, | Portsoy, | | 1829 | " 7th Feb., 1863 |
| | | XI. SYNOD OF MORAY. | | |
| | | 53. Presbytery of Strathbogie. | | |
| David Dewar, | Bellie, | | 1837 | |
| Thomas Bain, | Mortlach, | Coupar-Angus, | 1842 | |
| Thomas Wright, | Rhynie, | Swinton, | 1842 | |
| W. Taylor, | Glass, | Wick, retired, | 1843 | |
| W. R. Moncur, | Botriphnie, | Liff, | 1843 | |
| W. Moffat, | Cairnie, | | 1843 | |
| John Robertson, | Gartly, | | 1819 | Died 3rd June, 1850 |
| David Henry, | Marnoch, | | 1842 | " 7th Oct., 1874 |
| William Sinclair, | Huntly, | Kirkwall, | 1843 | " 20th March, 1875 |
| | | 54. Presbytery of Abernethy. | | |
| George Shepherd, | Kingussie, | | 1818 | Died 20th July, 1853 |
| Alexander Tulloch, | Kirkmichael, | | 1820 | " 5th Dec., 1855 |
| | | 55. Presbytery of Aberlour. | | |
| Alexander M'Watt, | Rothes, | | 1839 | |
| | | 56. Presbytery of Elgin. | | |
| David Waters, | Burghead, | | 1826 | |
| Alexander Topp, | Elgin, | Toronto, | 1838 | |
| Robert Dunbar, | Pluscarden, | | 1840 | Died 17th Feb., 1859 |
| Alexander Gentle, | Alves, | | 1828 | " 25th March, 1869 |
| | | 57. Presbytery of Forres. | | |
| William Robertson, | Kinloss, | | 1813 | Died 13th Nov., 1860 |
| George Mackay, D.D., | Rafford, | | 1816 | " 19th Jan., 1862 |
| Duncan Grant, | Forres, | | 1814 | " 17th March, 1866 |
| Mark Aitken, | Dyke, | | 1816 | " 20th June, 1869 |
| | | 58. Presbytery of Inverness. | | |
| Alexander Fraser | Kirkhill, | | 1828 | |
| Thomas M'Lauchlan, | Moy, | Edinburgh, | 1838 | |
| John Grant, | Petty, | Roseneath, | 1834 | Died 1st Sept., 1855 |
| Archibald Cook, | Inverness, | Daviot, | 1823 | " 6th May, 1865 |
| David Sutherland, | Inverness, | | 1839 | " 18th Oct., 1875 |

| *Name.* | *Place.* | *Removed to* | *Date of Ordination.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 59. Presbytery of Nairn. | | |
| Simon M'Lauchlan, | Cawdor, | | 1833 | |
| John Matheson, | Ardersier, | | 1839 | Died 12th Nov., 1848 |
| William Barclay, | Auldearn, | | 1814 | " 4th June, 1857 |
| | | XII. SYNOD OF ROSS. | | |
| | | 60. Presbytery of Chanonry. | | |
| Simon Fraser, | Fortrose, | | 1835 | |
| Alexander Stewart, | Cromarty, | | 1824 | Died 5th Nov., 1847 |
| Donald Sage, | Kirkmichael, | | 1816 | " 31st March, 1869 |
| Donald Kennedy, | Killearnan, | | 1838 | " 23rd May, 1871 |
| John M'Rae, | Knockbain, | Carloway, | 1833 | " 9th Oct., 1876 |
| | | 61. Presbytery of Dingwall. | | |
| James Macdonald, | Urray, | | 1830 | |
| John Macdonald, | Urquhart, | | 1806 | Died 16th April, 1849 |
| John Noble, | Fodderty, | | 1833 | " 16th April, 1849 |
| John Mackenzie, | Strathconan, | | 1829 | " 8th Nov., 1864 |
| Alexander Flyter, | Alness, | | 1811 | " 3rd Jan., 1866 |
| Alexander Anderson, | Keanloch-Luichart, | | 1842 | " — Dec., 1866 |
| George M'Leod, | Maryborough, | Lochbroom, | 1841 | " 2nd May, 1871 |
| Patrick Tulloch, | Strathglass, | | 1842 | " 22nd July, 1871 |
| Duncan Campbell, | Kiltearn, | | 1834 | " 21st Oct., 1873 |
| | | 62. Presbytery of Tain. | | |
| Hugh M'Leod | Logie-Easter, | Cape Breton, | 1833 | |
| Gustavus Aird, | Croich, | Criech, | 1841 | |
| John Macalister, | Nigg | | 1824 | Died 17th Dec., 1844 |
| Donald Gordon, | Edderton, | | 1822 | " 30th Aug., 1847 |
| Hector Allan, | Kincardine, | | 1818 | " 9th Dec., 1853 |
| David Carment, | Rosskeen, | | 1810 | " 26th May, 1856 |
| Charles R. Matheson, | Kilmuir Easter, | | 1812 | " 14th May, 1866 |
| Charles C. Macintosh, | Tain, | Dunoon, | 1828 | " 24th Nov., 1868 |
| David Campbell, | Tarbat, | Lawers, | 1832 | " 25th Jan., 1877 |
| | | XIII. SYNOD OF SUTHERLAND AND CAITHNESS. | | |
| | | 63. Presbytery of Dornoch. | | |
| George Mackay, | Clyne | Inverness, | 1828 | |
| George R. Kennedy, | Dornoch, | | 1837 | |
| Duncan Macgillivray, | Lairg, | | 1801 | Died 11th Feb., 1849 |
| Angus Kennedy, | Dornoch, | | 1802 | " 22nd June, 1855 |
| J. D. Kennedy, | Rosehall, | | 1835 | " 25th March, 1873 |
| Charles Gordon, | Assynt, | | 1825 | " 26th Sept., 1873 |
| Peter Davidson, | Stoer, | Arran, | 1830 | " 15th April, 1875 |

| Name. | Place. | Removed to | Date of Ordination. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 64. Presbytery of Tongue. | | |
| George Tulloch, | Edrachillis, | | 1829 | |
| Hugh Mackenzie, | Tongue, | | 1796 | Died 30th June, 1845 |
| William Mackenzie, | Tongue, | | 1843 | " 25th July, 1845 |
| Robert R. Mackay, | Halkirk, | | 1838 | " 22nd Nov., 1866 |
| David Mackenzie, | Farr, | | 1813 | " 24th Feb., 1868 |
| William Findlater, | Durness, | | 1808 | " 29th June, 1869 |
| | | 65. Presbytery of Caithness. | | |
| W. R. Taylor, | Thurso, | | 1829 | |
| Thomas Gunn, | Keiss, | Madderty, | 1829 | |
| Alexander Gunn, | Watten, | | 1837 | |
| John Munro, | Halkirk, | | 1806 | Died 1st April, 1847 |
| W. Mackenzie, | Olrig, | | 1819 | " 20th June, 1857 |
| Finlay Cook, | Reay, | | 1817 | " 12th June, 1858 |
| Samuel Campbell, | Berriedale, | | 1837 | " 15th Dec., 1868 |
| Charles Thomson, | Wick, | | 1823 | " 26th April, 1871 |
| George Davidson, | Latheron, | | 1819 | " 14th Aug., 1873 |
| | | XIV. SYNOD OF GLENELG. | | |
| | | 66. Presbytery of Lochcarron. | | |
| Colin Mackenzie, | Shieldaig, | retired, | 1827 | |
| Alexander Macdonald, | Plockton, | | 1826 | Died 15th Aug., 1864 |
| Donald Macrae, | Poolewe, | Kilmorie, | 1830 | " 6th Aug., 1868 |
| George Corbett, | Knoydart, | Armsdale | 1836 | " 19th Sept., 1863 |
| | | Mis. Glenelg, | | |
| Thomas Ross, LL.D., | Lochbroom, | | 1798 | " October, 1843 |
| | | 67. Presbytery of Abertarff. | | |
| Charles Stewart, | Fort-William, | | 1840 | |
| W. Lauder, | Glengarry, | Strachur, | 1840 | |
| Thomas Davidson, | Kilmalie, | | 1829 | Died 13th Dec., 1871 |
| John Macmillan, | Ballachulish, | Cardross, | 1828 | |
| | | 68. Presbytery of Skye and Uist. | | |
| Norman Macleod, | Trumisgarry, | | 1835 | |
| John B. Glass, | Bracadale, | Musselburgh, | 1826 | Died 27th Dec., 1855 |
| Roderick M'Leod, | Snizort, | | 1823 | " 20th March, 1868 |
| John Swanson, | Small Isles, | Nigg, | 1839 | " 7th Jan., 1874 |
| | | 69. Presbytery of Lewis. | | |
| John Finlay, | Cross, | | 1840 | Died 17th Sept., 1844 |
| Robert Finlayson, | Lochs, | | 1829 | " 23rd July, 1861 |
| Alexander M'Leod, | Uig, | Rogart, | 1819 | " 13th Nov., 1869 |
| Duncan Matheson, | Knock, | Gairloch, | 1831 | " 12th Dec., 1873 |
| | | Glenelg, | | |

| *Name.* | *Place.* | *Removed to* | *Date of Ordination.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **70. Presbytery of Orkney.** | | | | |
| Peter Petrie, | Kirkwall, | | 1831 | Died 28th Jan., 1850 |
| James Smellie, | St. Andrews, | | 1805 | " 22nd Dec., 1852 |
| William Malcolm, | Firth & Stennis | | 1807 | " 1st Dec., 1857 |
| Peter Learmonth, | Stromness, | | 1833 | " 21st Oct., 1858 |
| George Ritchie, | Rousay, | | 1834 | " 23rd Oct., 1858 |
| Adam White, | N. Ronaldshay, | Harray, | 1837 | " 16th Aug., 1873 |
| Adam Rettie, | Evie, | | 1841 | " 12th April, 1875 |
| **71. Presbytery of Shetland.** | | | | |
| James Ingram, | Unst, | | 1803 | |
| Alex. Stark, | Sandwich, | Closeburn, | 1830 | |
| James Ingram, A. & S. | Unst, | | 1838 | |
| John Elder, | Walls, | | 1840 | Died 4th Feb., 1860 |
| James Gardner, | Quarff, | | 1830 | " 23rd Jany., 1867 |

## SUMMARY of Preceding List as at May, 1877.

| | | *Survivors.* | *Deceased.* | *Survivors.* | *Deceased.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **I. Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale.** | | | | |
| 1. | Presbytery of Edinburgh, | 13 | 21 | | |
| 2. | " Linlithgow, | 2 | 3 | | |
| 3. | " Biggar and Peebles, | 1 | 4 | | |
| 4. | " Dalkeith, | 0 | 5 | | |
| 5. | " Haddington and Dunbar, | 5 | 10 | | |
| | | | | 21 | 43 |
| | **II. Synod of Merse and Teviotdale.** | | | | |
| 6. | Presbytery of Dunse and Chirnside, | 4 | 5 | | |
| 7. | " Kelso and Lauder, | 2 | 1 | | |
| 8. | " Jedburgh, | 1 | 2 | | |
| 9. | " Selkirk, | 1 | 2 | | |
| | | | | 8 | 10 |
| | **III. Synod of Dumfries.** | | | | |
| 10. | Presbytery of Lockerby, | 1 | 3 | | |
| 11. | " Dumfries, | 1 | 6 | | |
| 12. | " Penpont, | 1 | 1 | | |
| | | | | 3 | 10 |
| | **IV. Synod of Galloway.** | | | | |
| 13. | Presbytery of Stranraer, | 2 | 3 | | |
| 14. | " Wigton, | 0 | 1 | | |
| 15. | " Kirkcudbright, | 0 | 3 | | |
| | | | | 2 | 7 |
| | **V. Synod of Glasgow and Ayr.** | | | | |
| 16. | Presbytery of Ayr, | 3 | 8 | | |
| 17. | " Irvine, | 4 | 5 | | |
| 18. | " Paisley, | 1 | 9 | | |
| 19. | " Greenock, | 6 | 6 | | |
| 20. | " Hamilton, | 4 | 4 | | |
| 21. | " Lanark, | 0 | 3 | | |
| 22. | " Dumbarton, | 1 | 4 | | |
| 23. | " Glasgow, | 12 | 18 | | |
| | | | | 31 | 57 |

| | | | Survivors. | Deceased. | Survivors. | Deceased. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | VI. Synod of Argyll. | | | | |
| 24. | Presbytery of | Dunoon and Inveraray, . | 1 | 6 | | |
| 25. | " | Kintyre, . . . . | 1 | 2 | | |
| 26. | " | Islay, . . . . | 1 | 1 | | |
| 27. | " | Lorn and Mull, . . | 1 | 5 | | |
| | | | —— | —— | 4 | 14 |
| | | VII. Synod of Perth and Stirling. | | | | |
| 28. | Presbytery of | Stirling, . . . . | 2 | 8 | | |
| 29. | " | Dunblane, . . . | 5 | 2 | | |
| 30. | " | Dunkeld, . . . | 3 | 4 | | |
| 31. | " | Breadalbane, . . . | 2 | 1 | | |
| 32. | " | Perth, . . . . | 5 | 8 | | |
| 33. | " | Auchterarder, . . . | 5 | 2 | | |
| | | | —— | —— | 22 | 25 |
| | | VIII. Synod of Fife. | | | | |
| 34. | Presbytery of | Dunfermline, . . . | 2 | 5 | | |
| 35. | " | Kinross, . . . . | 0 | 1 | | |
| 36. | " | Kirkcaldy, . . . | 3 | 5 | | |
| 37. | " | Cupar, . . . . | 6 | 3 | | |
| 38. | " | St. Andrews, . . . | 2 | 3 | | |
| | | | —— | —— | 13 | 17 |
| | | IX. Synod of Angus and Mearns. | | | | |
| 39. | Presbytery of | Meigle, . . . . | 1 | 1 | | |
| 40. | " | Forfar, . . . . | 1 | 2 | | |
| 41. | " | Dundee, . . . . | 6 | 9 | | |
| 42. | " | Brechin, . . . . | 3 | 4 | | |
| 43. | " | Arbroath, . . . . | 6 | 3 | | |
| 44. | " | Fordoun, . . . . | 3 | 1 | | |
| | | | —— | —— | 20 | 20 |
| | | X. Synod of Aberdeen. | | | | |
| 45. | Presbytery of | Aberdeen, . . . | 5 | 16 | | |
| 46. | " | Kincardine-O'Neil, . . | 4 | 2 | | |
| 47. | " | Alford, . . . . | 0 | 0 | | |
| 48. | " | Garioch, . . . . | 0 | 4 | | |
| 49. | " | Ellon, . . . . | 0 | 1 | | |
| 50. | " | Deer, . . . . | 2 | 0 | | |
| 51. | " | Turriff, . . . . | 1 | 4 | | |
| 52. | " | Fordyce, . . . . | 2 | 4 | | |
| | | | —— | —— | 14 | 31 |

| | | Survivors. | Deceased. | Survivors. | Deceased. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | XI. Synod of Moray. | | | | |
| 53. | Presbytery of Strathbogie, | 6 | 3 | | |
| 54. | " Abernethy, | 0 | 2 | | |
| 55. | " Aberlour, | 1 | 0 | | |
| 56. | " Elgin, | 2 | 2 | | |
| 57. | " Forres, | 0 | 4 | | |
| 58. | " Inverness, | 2 | 3 | | |
| 59. | " Nairn, | 1 | 2 | | |
| | | | | 12 | 16 |
| | XII. Synod of Ross. | | | | |
| 60. | Presbytery of Chanonry, | 1 | 4 | | |
| 61. | " Dingwall, | 1 | 8 | | |
| 62. | " Tain, | 2 | 7 | | |
| | | | | 4 | 19 |
| | XIII. Synod of Sutherland and Caithness. | | | | |
| 63. | Presbytery of Dornoch, | 2 | 5 | | |
| 64. | " Tongue, | 1 | 5 | | |
| 65. | " Caithness, | 3 | 6 | | |
| | | | | 6 | 16 |
| | XIV. Synod of Glenelg. | | | | |
| 66. | Presbytery of Lochcarron, | 1 | 4 | | |
| 67. | " Abertarff, | 2 | 2 | | |
| 68. | " Skye and Uist, | 1 | 3 | | |
| 69. | " Lewis, | 0 | 4 | | |
| | | | | 4 | 13 |
| 70. | Presbytery of Orkney, | | | 0 | 7 |
| 71. | Presbytery of Shetland, | | | 3 | 2 |
| | | | | 167 | 307 |

APPENDIX III.—Showing the Aggregate Amount of Funds raised by the Free Church during Thirty-one Years, from the Disruption to 1873-74 inclusive.

| | Building Fund. | | Sustentation, Supplementary, Aged and Infirm Ministers. | Congregational. | Education. | Colleges. | Missions. | General Trustees and Miscellaneous. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | General. | Local. | | | | | | | |
| | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. | 8. | 9. |
| 1843-44, | £85,238 9 1 | £142,598 10 9½ | £61,513 6 10½ | £41,540 11 10¾ | £3,722 2 9 | £1,220 16 5 | £26,847 14 0 | £1,190 5 7 | £363,871 17 4½ |
| 1844-45, | 34,205 19 7 | 97,531 14 10½ | 76,180 6 7½ | 69,985 15 3¾ | 4,003 12 4 | 9,220 15 3 | 40,302 14 10 | 2,173 4 4½ | 333,604 3 1¾ |
| 1845-46, | 23,773 15 8 | 66,065 19 0½ | 80,290 8 10½ | 70,675 0 2¾ | 9,654 16 0½ | 7,201 1 11 | 37,507 11 4½ | 1,090 8 7 | 296,259 1 8½ |
| 1846-47, | 38,920 9 5 | 46,446 10 8¾ | 82,166 8 8 | 78,226 18 7 | 10,141 16 9 | 8,472 1 3 | 53,192 3 3 | 26 15 4 | 317,593 3 11¾ |
| 1847-48, | 23,269 2 6 | 34,566 3 0¾ | 89,051 8 11 | 71,850 6 7 | 10,317 11 3 | 6,154 4 9 | 40,103 8 1½ | 35 6 5 | 275,347 11 7¼ |
| 1848-49, | 22,010 15 10 | 43,981 6 0½ | 88,328 5 0 | 71,379 6 9¼ | 11,019 18 7 | 8,950 2 10 | 26,789 11 5 | 1 7 8 | 272,460 14 1¾ |
| 1849-50, | 24,708 4 3 | 52,608 11 11½ | 90,972 13 8 | 77,589 12 9½ | 11,196 15 5 | 5,608 6 1 | 28,293 7 11¾ | 15,361 17 6 | 306,339 9 7¾ |
| 1850-51, | 18,002 19 5 | 51,947 12 2½ | 96,846 9 5 | 74,472 6 11¼ | 13,006 13 10 | 15,000 1 6 | 34,249 18 3 | 55 5 0 | 303,581 6 6½ |
| 1851-52, | 5,000 3 1 | 37,510 4 1½ | 93,426 8 2 | 80,334 2 3½ | 15,015 17 2 | 6,077 13 4 | 31,105 4 9 | 712 7 3 | 269,182 0 2¼ |
| 1852-53, | 5,215 8 1 | 37,100 2 8¼ | 93,065 11 11 | 79,715 13 8½ | 13,135 18 8 | 10,389 1 11 | 38,596 5 3 | 318 5 0 | 277,536 7 2¾ |
| 1853-54, | 3,401 16 11 | 37,375 3 3½ | 109,253 2 0 | 83,504 14 1 | 12,672 2 3 | 6,822 13 11 | 35,218 14 3 | 1,421 16 8 | 289,670 3 4½ |
| 1854-55, | 2,985 18 8 | 33,088 14 10½ | 107,347 4 11 | 85,870 19 10½ | 13,887 19 6 | 9,607 1 6 | 43,327 1 4 | 9,761 5 4 | 306,476 6 0 |
| 1855-56, | 5,390 15 6 | 30,200 5 6¾ | 111,318 17 9 | 86,749 12 3¼ | 13,110 14 3 | 5,670 10 11 | 36,018 1 3 | 109 13 3 | 288,568 10 9 |
| 1856-57, | 6,785 10 11 | 43,433 2 9 | 115,708 2 4 | 87,870 19 2¼ | 14,133 3 7 | 7,084 0 4 | 32,944 15 4 | 264 17 7 | 308,224 12 0½ |
| 1857-58, | 15,960 15 7 | 46,896 18 8½ | 114,412 8 0 | 92,556 12 2½ | 16,673 17 4 | 5,851 15 10 | 39,336 9 0 | 104 15 10 | 331,793 12 5¾ |
| 1858-59, | 9,340 14 0 | 41,179 2 0½ | 126,282 14 6 | 94,481 19 6 | 17,764 15 3 | 9,000 8 5 | 37,682 5 5 | 6,991 13 3 | 342,723 12 4½ |
| 1859-60, | 6,716 4 1 | 35,855 9 0 | 111,682 5 9 | 97,363 2 11 | 16,556 12 4 | 6,302 17 3 | 37,631 17 6 | 7,709 7 10 | 319,817 16 8 |
| 1860-61, | 6,011 6 11 | 36,539 8 11 | 118,692 0 3 | 100,134 6 1 | 16,723 11 4 | 7,232 7 2 | 39,384 13 6 | 6,274 6 11 | 330,992 1 1 |
| 1861-62, | 3,829 3 11 | 38,518 4 1 | 115,815 17 2 | 105,341 18 10 | 15,430 18 1 | 13,685 8 7 | 40,667 5 11 | 4,148 12 0 | 337,437 8 9 |
| 1862-63, | 4,097 16 5 | 48,892 15 8½ | 118,206 11 7 | 111,764 2 10½ | 16,275 6 6 | 7,209 1 1 | 30,481 19 6 | 6,153 3 8 | 343,080 17 4 |
| 1863-64, | 981 16 1 | 49,314 7 4 | 121,760 2 1 | 107,396 18 0¾ | 15,800 19 2 | 6,932 14 9 | 37,768 11 8 | 3,670 16 10 | 343,626 5 9¾ |
| 1864-65, | 2,247 0 9 | 41,821 13 6¾ | 123,052 4 1 | 113,364 5 0½ | 19,308 12 10 | 6,094 8 4 | 47,619 11 5 | 5,502 3 6 | 359,009 19 6 |
| 1865-66, | 149 17 5 | 55,038 8 7¼ | 135,426 12 8 | 118,792 11 5⅝ | 19,664 14 0 | 10,661 7 5 | 40,482 9 6 | 3,674 5 9 | 383,890 6 10½ |
| 1866-67, | 1,771 6 4 | 46,903 15 1 | 129,468 3 5 | 122,259 18 8¼ | 20,358 18 2 | 7,672 7 11 | 36,816 1 5 | 3,803 13 6 | 369,114 4 6¼ |
| 1867-68, | 3,037 3 6 | 56,279 3 5⅜ | 139,236 12 7 | 126,427 19 6 | 19,123 9 5 | 6,498 10 5 | 41,426 7 5 | 3,746 9 10 | 395,775 16 1¾ |
| 1868-69, | 2,399 13 6 | 59,919 3 1 | 143,082 16 2 | 126,445 13 10¾ | 19,245 5 8 | 17,268 18 3 | 49,141 2 3 | 4,293 12 0 | 421,796 4 9¾ |
| 1869-70, | 348 4 6 | 53,336 6 6 | 140,962 0 9 | 132,329 8 6 | 19,098 4 0 | 7,479 19 10 | 56,598 18 4 | 17,468 15 7 | 427,621 18 0 |
| 1870-71, | 2,851 5 7 | 40,565 0 8 | 143,774 8 8 | 135,864 4 6 | 22,893 16 4 | 9,073 17 1 | 54,836 14 5 | 3,334 5 2 | 413,193 12 5 |
| 1871-72, | 175 7 11 | 56,507 9 1 | 145,714 3 11 | 140,941 3 4 | 21,795 0 7 | 10,963 19 7 | 52,585 13 2 | 3,840 2 2 | 432,522 19 9 |
| 1872-73, | 2,679 17 8 | 73,250 19 3 | 143,160 15 2 | 147,715 6 1 | 21,021 15 6 | 6,969 19 5 | 52,808 15 7 | 5,091 18 7 | 452,699 7 3 |
| 1873-74, | 193 8 11 | 52,469 1 7 | 181,911 17 3 | 153,691 15 7 | 19,928 14 2 | 14,977 1 0 | 56,004 18 1 | 31,014 7 11 | 510,191 4 6 |
| | 361,700 12 0 | 1,588,401 8 7 | 3,548,110 14 1 | 3,086,637 7 6 | 472,683 13 0 | 261,353 14 3 | 1,255,770 5 7 | 149,345 5 11 | 10,723,102 15 11 |

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